

# Africa Digest

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## CENTRAL AFRICA The Federation

### Prime Minister's Visit to London

SIR ROY WELENSKY, speaking at a Press conference in London on April 17, said that in his talks with the British Government he had not been demanding independence for the Federation forthwith. But that did not mean that the Federation was not determined to obtain independent status within the Commonwealth. He believed the time to settle that was in 1960.

Sir Roy said that there were many other subjects which affected their day-to-day lives, ranging from tobacco to defence, over which there must be close consultation with the British Government. He had been dealing with some of them. On franchise he said: "One thing is certain—the dogma of one man one vote cannot apply in our part of Africa in the foreseeable future and any pretence that it could is only mischievous and dangerous. Those who speculate on this premise do harm."

A joint statement was issued by the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation on April 27. This said that the Prime Minister and Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law, had discussed certain aspects of the Federal constitution with Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Federal Prime Minister represented that the time had come for the Federation to assume more responsibility in external affairs, particularly in the field of relations with other countries, and the appointment of representatives of the Federation in such countries. The United Kingdom Government have agreed to entrust responsibility for external affairs to the Federal Government to the fullest extent possible consistent with the responsibility which Her Majesty's Government continue to have in international law so long as the Federation is not a separate international entity.

In recognition of the constitutional position of the Federation, H.M. The Queen has been pleased to approve that in future the Prime Minister of the Federation should have direct access to the Sovereign on Federal matters affecting the Sovereign personally, on the award of Honours for services to the Federation, and on a number of ceremonial matters.

The Federal Prime Minister drew attention to doubts which had arisen in regard to the purpose and effect of Article 29 (7) of the Federal Constitution and to the subject of legislation in the United Kingdom for the Federation. United Kingdom Ministers made it clear that the United Kingdom Government recognize the existence of a convention applicable to the present stage of the constitutional evolution of the Federation, whereby the United Kingdom Government in practice does not initiate any legislation to amend or to

repeal any Federal Act or to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature, except at the request of the Federal Government. United Kingdom Ministers accepted in principle proposals for the enlargement of the Federal Assembly.

Sir Roy Welensky assured United Kingdom Ministers that a Franchise Bill would be introduced and would ensure that British Protected Persons otherwise qualified would not be required to change their status in order to be eligible for the Federal franchise.

Agreement between the two Governments that a conference to review the constitution should be held was reached.

The Executive of the Africa Bureau, after considering the purposes of Sir Roy Welensky's visit, passed the following resolution:

"In view of the declaration of the United Kingdom Government during the passage of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act 1953 that a review of the constitution of the Federation should take place not earlier than 1960, the Executive Committee of the Africa Bureau recognizes that the status and constitution of the Federation and its relations with the United Kingdom Government are matters which must be deferred until that time and meanwhile that the Government of the Federation must apply the principle of partnership of the races as embodied in the Preamble of the Constitution.

"The Executive Committee believes that if the Federation is to be maintained and the opposition and apprehension of Africans eliminated the Federal Government must demonstrate its acceptance of the principle in positive practical terms, must promote closer racial co-operation, remove all administrative and statutory discriminations against Africans and help them to proceed to greater responsibility in the government of their countries; in particular, protected persons should enjoy the rights of citizenship and not be excluded from exercising the franchise, the franchise should be liberal and lead to universal suffrage not creating first- and second-class voting lists. The ultimate purpose of government must be to create a genuine political democracy with political and constitutional guarantees for minorities and to carry out enthusiastic co-operation of the African population."

### The Citizenship Bill

On the second reading of the Citizenship Bill, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law, said that the Preamble to the Constitution recognized and preserved the protectorate status of the two Northern Territories, therefore it was not possible to compel the protected persons to become British subjects. To do this would amount to virtually annexing the Protectorates.

The Bill proposed that anyone born in Southern Rhodesia would be a Federal citizen by birth. Anyone born in the Northern Territories would be a citizen by birth if his father was a British subject. If his father was a British protected person, then he would be by birth a British protected person.

Mr. Greenfield pointed out that a great many people resident in

the Federation had not been born there. These people would become Federal citizens if they were British subjects and voters in Federal elections. British protected persons would be welcomed as Federal citizens without any financial expense. Registration would be as simple as possible. Others could be registered if they were from any of the scheduled countries, had resided for two years in the Federation, were of good character and had a working knowledge of English. All who acquired Federal citizenship by registration, including British protected persons, would have to take an oath of allegiance and undertake to fulfil the duties of a citizen. . . .

A British protected person who acquires the status of a Federal citizen under the Bill cannot subsequently renounce it. It would be impossible under the Bill to deprive a citizen by birth or descent of his citizenship. . . . Prohibited immigrants and deportees under the Federal laws could be deprived of their citizenship. Absence from the Federation for more than three years would normally cause loss of citizenship.

Mr. Greenfield said that the Bill had been fully discussed with the United Kingdom authorities.

Mr. van Eeden, member for Kafue, opposed parts of the Bill because it would make it easier for the protected Africans in the two Northern Territories to acquire British nationality, and so obtain the franchise.

In spite of the fact that the protected African in the north would be able to become a citizen and an equal . . . he would continue to enjoy the status of being a protected person. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would remain Protectorates which would continue to be one of the main obstacles in achieving a higher status for the Federation.

Sir John Moffatt, Northern Rhodesian Member, said that protected persons of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be acknowledged to be citizens of the Federation by right of birth.

Dr. Alexander Scott said that he had hoped the Federal Government would apply citizenship to all Africans in the Northern Territories.

Mr. Chirwa (Nyasaland) stated his fears of the Bill saying: "If all Africans did become Federal citizens and British subjects (1) they would lose their status of British protected persons; (2) Britain would lose authority over them, the authority would be transferred to the Federal Government and (3) . . . their land rights would also be affected accordingly. . . . The result would be that . . . the bigger part of the land might go to the . . . Europeans. . . ."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 13, 1957) said: "There can be few who do not appreciate the problems and the difficulties, bred of the extraordinary circumstances of the Federation, which faced the Federal Government when it came to draft its Citizenship Bill. Here the majority of our population, although born in the country, are not *ipso facto* British subjects. To complicate matters further, they show no desire to be anything but British protected persons. Yet unless the ties of Federal citizens to Britain and the Commonwealth are closer than the mere acceptance of British protection, they cannot qualify in terms of existing legislation in other Commonwealth countries for the reciprocal privileges generally extended by one country of this community of nations to the citizens of another."

Commenting on the fact that the proposed oath of allegiance, which would be required of those applying for Federal citizenship, demanded allegiance to the Queen only, the editorial said: "We must agree with its critics in the Federal Assembly that it was neither necessary nor desirable . . . that the new citizen in his oath of allegiance is excused of any necessity to declare, or feel, loyalty toward the Federation itself. We would consider that the first require-

ment of a citizen, after his expression of allegiance to the Sovereign, would be a declaration of loyalty to his country. The Minister of Law, Mr. Greenfield, justified this omission on the grounds that any such oath would preclude a person from working in the direction of a unitary State. The opposite must also be true. In other words, the oath as it stands specifically permits persons so inclined to work for the disintegration of the Federation."

### Conditions at Kariba

Between 15,000 and 16,000 Northern Rhodesian Africans will be moved to new homes in the coming financial year away from areas in the Zambesi Valley which will eventually be flooded by the construction of the Kariba Dam. Africans who will be resettled in higher parts of the Gwembe Valley will receive in all about £170,000 in compensation for the loss of their homes and gardens.

The estimated cost of resettlement in the coming financial year, excluding individual compensation, is £300,000.

All but a few hundred of the African families still on the Southern Rhodesia side are to be moved to new homes this year.

Mr. Walter Hood and Mr. Albert Hammerton, representing the British Trade Union Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions respectively, paid an unexpected visit to Kariba as a result of letters sent to them by the Mashonaland Region of the African Trade Union Congress alleging that Africans at the hydro-electric scheme site worked under very bad conditions. After their visit they said that they had not been shocked by conditions.

Mr. Hood said that he had been struck by the fact that Africans were driving huge lorries and bull-dozers and this convinced him that, given the chance, Africans were even quicker to learn than Europeans. "And this is something of which you should be proud," he said.

Mr. Hammerton suggested that the complaints contained in the letters written to the British T.U.C. had been based on the understandably difficult conditions which must have existed at Kariba during the initial stages of the launching of the scheme and added that Europeans must also have experienced much the same hardships.

"What I like about Kariba," he said, "is the fact that Europeans and Africans are thrown together doing something which is really great. You must realize," he went on, "that no political dictums, miracles or formulas will break the colour bar. But industry will do it. If people of various races rub shoulders together, as they are doing at Kariba, the colour question will disappear."

### Congo Basin Treaties Amended

A Bill which withdraws Nyasaland and north-eastern Northern Rhodesia from the Congo Basin Treaty area has been passed in the Federal Parliament.

The *Nyasaland Times* commented: "After 80 years Nyasaland is free of a trade encumbrance which has become today archaic and a hindrance to this country's development. Nyasalanders can now expect reductions in the selling prices of most items which feature in a household budget and others which are considered necessary for life here, items such as cars, tyres and tubes. The Federal Government has earned Nyasaland's gratitude for getting rid of this stone around its neck. . . ."

"The public should realize, too, that now the treaty has gone they will also benefit from the preferential trade agreements the Federation has signed with such countries as Australia and the Union. It is unlikely Nyasaland on its own could have negotiated such preferential agreements even if it has been out of the Treaty area. It is ob-

vious, therefore, Nyasaland will enjoy these agreements as another one of the benefits the Federation has brought to this little country."

Mr. R. C. Bucquet, Federal M.P., said the introduction of the Bill was an historic occasion, as north-eastern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would now become equal taxpayers with the other parts of the Federation.

### Capital Investment

Net Capital investment in the Federation during 1956 totalled over £26 million as compared with £1 million invested in South Africa.

This favourable picture of the Federation's success in continuing to attract money from the Union of South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere despite the credit squeeze, is borne out by the general high level of development visible far and wide in the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Total capital payments by the Federation last year amounted to £7,000,000 leaving a net inflow almost identical with that of 1955 and £3,000,000 better than in 1954. (*Commonwealth News Agency*, May 8, 1957.)

### Immigration Figures

A total of 26,201 immigrants entered the Federation last year, an increase of over 30 per cent on 1955, according to the Central African Statistical Office. Half this number were born in Britain, and 44 per cent in South Africa. The remainder were drawn from 72 countries. The report states that during the first nine months of last year 2,155 people left the Federation permanently.

A Federal Immigration Department directly responsible to the Ministry of Home Affairs is to be established. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 16, 1957.)

### Miners' International Congresses

Both African and European miners of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be represented for the first time at a congress of the Miners' International Federation in London in June. This congress representing nearly three million miners throughout the world, is expected to adopt an International Miners' Charter which will lay down conditions of work and minimum rates of pay for all unions. It will seek to establish a close uniformity of working conditions and pay for all miners irrespective of race, and will call on all miners' organizations affiliated to the Federation to co-operate in uplifting lesser privileged miners to the status of more privileged miners.

The congress could have a significant effect on labour relations in the Federation and specially on African Advancement in Northern Rhodesia. (*Johannesburg Star*, April 3, 1957.)

Mr. J. F. D'Mello, President of the Nyasaland Trades Union Congress, will represent the congress at the International Confederation of Free Trades Union's world conference in Italy from July 5 to 13. Mr. D'Mello was also elected to participate in the I.C.F.T.U. international seminar to be held in Canada this September. (*Nyasaland Times*, March 5, 1957.)

### University Entrance Loans and Scholarships for Africans

Provision for 18 University entrance scholarships and a number of grants and loans to African students, has been made by the Federal Ministry of Education for 1958. Six of the scholarships, valued at £250 a year, will be for approved degree courses in the United Kingdom or a Commonwealth university specially approved by the Scholarship Board. A further 12 scholarships, valued at £150 a year,

will be tenable at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or, where a desired course is not available there, at any university in the Commonwealth. A number of grants, of various values between £50 and £250 a year, will be awarded according to the ability and means of applicants. These will be tenable by scholarship holders if necessary. A limited number of loans of up to £150 a year may be awarded to approved students. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 11, 1957.)

### Lord Malvern Trust Fund

A permanent Trust Fund in commemoration of Lord Malvern's public services is being established to promote the Federation's health services and to allow Lord Malvern to continue to play a full part as an elder statesman.

### New Governor-General

Lord Dalhousie is to succeed the late Lord Llewellyn as Governor-General of the Federation. Lord Dalhousie, 42, is one of the youngest Governors ever appointed. As Major Simon Ramsay he sat in the Commons from 1945 to 1950. He was appointed a Conservative Whip in 1946, but resigned after two years. He succeeded to the title in 1950. (*The Times*, April 25, 1957.)

## Northern Rhodesia

### Official View of Federation

THE new Chief Secretary, Mr. E. D. Hone, C.M.G., C.V.O., O.B.E., making his maiden speech, denied that members of the Government, or its Members in the Legislative Council, were disloyal to the Federation. He was replying to a challenge from Mr. F. S. Derby, who said he was convinced that there were Members on the Government benches who did not believe in federation. He appealed to them to "be honest with themselves, be honest to the country, be honest to the Government, and hand in their portfolio now, because we cannot operate this Government while there are Members of Government who do not believe in federation".

Mr. Hone said: "I wish to state quite firmly and flatly that the policy of this Government and of all the Members thereof is entirely in conformity with the Federation and the Constitution. To suggest that any Official Member is not loyally following that policy is a serious allegation. I have no evidence, whatever, to suggest that that is the case and I reject that suggestion." (*African Weekly*, March 27, 1957.)

Subsequently a motion was introduced by Mr. J. Gaunt urging the Legislative Council to disapprove of the opposition to federation expressed from time to time by African Members of the Council. The Financial Secretary, Mr. R. A. Nicholson, rejecting the motion said it was the very negation of democracy and was utterly wrong and disgraceful.

An amendment, proposed by Mr. J. H. Roberts, Member for Lands and Local Government, that the Council should disagree with destructive criticism of federation and reaffirm its belief in the principle of the freedom of speech, was carried without division. Mr. Roberts said he accepted that it was not the intention in the motion to limit freedom of speech. The African Members did not vote on the amendment.

### Constitutional Changes Sought

A correspondent in Northern Rhodesia writes that Africans are asking for parity in the Unofficial membership on both the Executive

and Legislative Councils. They wish to end the representation of African interests by Europeans. (At present there are six African seats in Legco: two held by Europeans and four by Africans.) To avoid frequent deadlocks that might arise, the balance of power should remain in the Colonial Office. As an experiment Africans would like to see parity based on separate voters rolls, i.e. one for Europeans and the other for Africans, each to elect their own members. Our ultimate aim is to do away with either separate voters' rolls or racial representation by 1964.

The Colonial Secretary in reply to a question from Sir Leslie Plummer (Labour) said constitutional changes were now being considered by the Northern Rhodesian Government.

### Labour M.P.'s Visit

Mr. James Johnson, M.P., was the guest of the African National Congress during his tour of Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Johnson said he would like to see better educational facilities and housing for Africans. He assured his audience that many M.P.s in London were watching over their interests and were willing to stand up for them. Speaking of demands for the franchise he said: "I place the utmost importance on the African here, as in Kenya, and other countries, having the vote and the say in whom they shall elect as their M.P.s. This will ensure that those they send to Legco will be the ones they want. . . .

"It operates in England, America and Kenya. You may get leaders who do not want to do what you want. The power should be in the hands of the people—the rank and file. This is one of the chief virtues of democracies. If you have got bad leaders, sack them and get better ones."

Sir Roy Welensky described Mr. Johnson's remarks as "offensive" and said it had not been until European private enterprise had developed the mineral wealth of Northern Rhodesia that money had been made available for social services for Africans.

Mr. J. H. Roberts, leader of the Unofficial Members' Association and Member for Lands and Local Government, said he would ask Mr. Lennox-Boyd for an interpretation of the position of government in Northern Rhodesia and on the propriety of remarks made by Mr. James Johnson, the British Labour M.P. Referring to Mr. Johnson's statement that "he always understood that Northern Rhodesia was ultimately governed in those affairs which affected the day-to-day life of the Africans by Her Majesty's Government", Mr. Roberts said that if this was so he saw little object in continuing to hold a portfolio which, by its very nature, administers very closely certain important aspects of the daily life of the African.

"My elected colleagues on the Executive Council are, like all members of the Executive Council, responsible for many matters of vital importance to the daily life of the African—and indeed this House is largely concerned with such matters. If what Mr. Johnson states is a fact then it appears to me that we are all of us wasting a lot of time, energy and thought which might well be applied in other directions." (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 2, 1957.)

Mr. Johnson commented: "I can only say that I am amazed by this outburst of Sir Roy Welensky in the Press. I was speaking of African education and advancement in general, including political advancement in the Northern Protectorate. It is a little sad that the Federal Prime Minister should feel so upset, because he is quite mistaken in jumping to the conclusion that 'Mr. Johnson has gone out of his way to be offensive'."

The *African Daily News* said that much of the opposition to Mr. Johnson's visit sprang out of a hatred of his being a guest of the African National Congress. . . . "All critics of Mr. Johnson should

realize three things. Firstly, he is a Member of a Mother Parliament which they should respect; he is a member of a party that has chances of coming into power and controlling the affairs of the three Territories of the Federation, and finally he is himself a moderate, deep-thinking, reasonable and understanding person. . . .

"The behaviour of certain elements of the European community, as evidenced by Press reports, had not helped to show Mr. Johnson that they were capable of giving the African 'a square deal' should all power be given to the settler community here. The fear of Her Majesty's Government in giving Dominion status to the European settlers here is that they will not give the African a chance to advance politically and otherwise."

The *Rhodesia Herald* (April 17, 1957) said Mr. Johnson had drawn public attention sharply to one point in Labour Party policy which most people have overlooked . . . that in multi-racial territories like the Federation the Labour Party is unlikely to insist at this stage on universal adult suffrage. The editorial continued: "He said in effect that so far as the franchise was concerned the Federation cannot be compared with countries like Ghana and India, for those countries have populations which, for the most part, are homogeneous. Giving them a franchise which embraced all adults was one thing, but in a mixed community of Europeans and Africans in which the Europeans could be regarded as the senior partners, enfranchisement of Africans would have to start with a qualitative vote."

### European Mineworkers Threaten Boycott

The European Mineworkers' Union has ordered all its members on the Copperbelt to boycott "completely and utterly" the survey of their jobs now being carried out. The Executive Council accused the Rhodesian Selection Trust chairman, Sir Ronald Prain, of a "blatant and shameful betrayal of all assurances given at the time of the African advancement agreement".

Speaking of the African advancement agreement<sup>1</sup> to the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers, Sir Ronald Prain had said: "This agreement provides for a certain number of jobs previously held by Europeans to be handed over to Africans and furthermore for a complete analysis to be made of all remaining jobs on the Copperbelt, with a view to seeing whether any of these can be fragmented or broken down into processes which would enable the African to learn these skills gradually and at the same time be advancing up the ladder of advancement to the time when he can do a full European job at full European pay."

The General Secretary of the European Mineworkers' Union described this as "a gross breach of faith". He said his union would never agree to fragmentation and added: "Unless a satisfactory explanation can be given by Sir Ronald Prain, this represents to us a complete abrogation by him of the African advancement agreement that was reached." The "job survey" is part and parcel of the African advancement agreement. Parties to the agreement undertook to employ jointly an independent firm of industrial consultants who would undertake a detailed survey of European jobs to analyse the responsibilities, training and skill each required. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 20, 1957.)

In reply Sir Ronald said that official agreements would be scrupulously honoured. He said that the wording of the passage in question was colloquial, and not technically correct. He would certainly have agreed with this if Mr. Petersen had raised it with him. The passage should have read: "The (African advancement) agreement provides for a certain number of jobs, previously held by Europeans,

<sup>1</sup>Dorst III, 7, and IV, 1.

to be handed over to Africans and, furthermore, for a complete analysis to be made of all remaining jobs on the Copperbelt.

"From such an analysis it should be possible to see whether any of these can be fragmented or broken down into processes which would enable the African to learn these skills gradually and at the same time be advancing up the ladder of advancement to the time when he can do a full European job at full European pay."

Mr. B. J. Petersen said that Sir Ronald Prain had "by his own words branded himself as the arch-enemy of the European workers on the Copperbelt. As far as this union is concerned this man has sounded the death knell of the African advancement." He rejected the explanation given and said: "It must now be obvious to everybody on the Copperbelt that this attempt to explain away a statement has shown us clearly what his real intentions are regarding European workers on the Copperbelt."

In an editorial comment the *Rhodesia Herald* (March 2, 1957) said: "No one will disagree with the view of the European Mineworkers' Union on the Copperbelt that there are tensions within the industry resulting from conflicting views on labour relations. But the behaviour least calculated to improve the situation is precipitate and hasty action such as that of the executive of the union over remarks made by Sir Ronald Prain in New York. . . .

"Furthermore, in language so extravagant it is almost abusive, the General Secretary of the union, Mr. B. J. Petersen, has attacked Sir Ronald personally and threatened him that unless he can give an explanation of his remarks satisfactory to the union, the union will consider he has abrogated the agreement on African advancement. . . .

"In the circumstances the union must not be surprised if there are some who cock an eyebrow in surprise at the procedure adopted and begin to wonder whether there is not more to the story than meets the eye. . . . Could it possibly be, for instance, that Sir Ronald's remarks sparked off reaction to some deeper feeling of unhappiness? In this regard it might be interesting, for instance, to obtain from the executive of the union a frank expression of its feelings today about having signed the African advancement agreement at all."

### Trade Unions and Communism

All the African trade unions have pledged themselves to resist Communism, and they have authorized their T.U.C. Secretary, Mr. J. P. G. Mubanga, to state that they regard Communism as the enemy of free trade unionism. The unions involved are those of the Mineworkers, the Municipal Workers, and the General Workers (covering the building trades, and workers for the Government, the railway, road transport, and in factories and shops). Mr. Mubanga said that they considered it inadvisable for any trade union leader, black or white, to make contacts with trade unions behind the Iron Curtain, and that it was the Government's duty to safeguard those beliefs by protecting the interests of African trade unions by the proper application of the law. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, March 28, 1957.)

### Shareholding by Africans

The Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies has announced that it proposes to introduce an employees' share purchase plan which will provide an incentive for employees to become shareholders in the Rhodesian Selection Trust Limited and Roan Antelope Copper Mines Limited. The plan will provide for Africans in advanced categories of employment as well as for European employees in all groups of the companies.

This is the first time that a major group has introduced such a

scheme in the Federation. The plan will be based on the facilities to enable employees to subscribe up to a fixed proportion of their wages each month towards the purchase of shares in R.S.T. and Roan Antelope. Employees' contributions will be matched to the extent of 50 per cent by the employing companies, and the total contributions will be used to purchase in the open market R.S.T. and/or Roan Antelope shares at the election of the employee. . . . (*The Times*, March 12, 1957.)

The R.S.T. group employ about 3,350 Europeans and nearly twenty thousand Africans. . . . The effect of the scheme will be to make these companies among the very few in Southern Africa which have African shareholders. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 12, 1957.)

### Discrimination by Lawyers

Mr. Leslie Blackwell, Q.C., a former South African judge now practising in Salisbury, in a letter to the Territory's Attorney-General, Mr. B. A. Doyle, alleged that Northern Rhodesian legal firms have almost consistently refused to act for Africans in political and semi-political cases. In almost every case that had come to his notice during the past nine months involving in one way or another the liberty of the subject there had been a steady refusal on the part of the legal profession in Northern Rhodesia to act for Africans, who had been forced to go outside the Territory at great inconvenience and added expense to secure legal representation.

"Every lawyer in Northern Rhodesia," said Mr. Blackwell, "is a barrister as well as a solicitor and it is a fundamental of a barrister's practice that, for a proper fee, he must act for any client who desires his services." (*Central African Post*.)

### Appeal for £150,000

The United Northern Rhodesian Association, whose object is to foster co-operation and understanding among the races of the Territory (and later, it is hoped, throughout the Federation), has launched an appeal for £150,000 to be raised locally and in the United Kingdom. Mr. H. Franklin, Minister for Education and Social Services, who visited Britain in connexion with the appeal, said that the association, a voluntary organization, provides through its clubs opportunity for the exchange and discussion of ideas and the sharing of interests and activities. He said that considerable capital expenditure was needed because, with the success of the "pilot" club at Lusaka, it was vital that clubs and branches should be started at every centre of the territory.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia, 57 Haymarket, S.W.1, or to the association's treasurer, Box 208, Lusaka. (*The Times*, April 24, 1957.)

## Nyasaland

### Congress Review of Opposing Political Organizations

MR. C. R. KUMBIKANO, one of Nyasaland's two African Federal M.P.s, giving his view on the recent withdrawal by the Nyasaland Government of official recognition of Congress, said: "There are so many political organizations in Nyasaland that even the Government had to withdraw its recognition from the Congress as a representative body of all Nyasalanders. This political division and tug-of-war has been caused by a few men only." The political organizations to which Mr. Kumbikano gave most attention in his speech were *Chipipi* and the People's Progressive Association.

Concerning *Chipipi* Mr. Kumbikano said that its major demand

was the immediate withdrawal of the two Nyasa African M.P.s from the Federal House. Such a move, the organization claimed, would be a sure proof that the Africans were opposed to federation. Mr. Kumbikano referred to the Progressive Association and said: "This political organization has a feeling that federation will offer economic advancement to the inhabitants of Nyasaland and with this view in mind requests the Africans to support the Federation."

Mr. Kumbikano ended by saying that it was up to the people of Nyasaland to support the political organization of their choice. (*African Weekly*, March 27, 1957.)

### Resignation of Federal M.P.s Demanded

A conference of the African Congress held in the Northern Province, issued a statement on April 30 reaffirming their opposition to federation and reiterating their demand for self-government by Africans in Nyasaland. The conference also called on the two Nyasaland African Members of the Federal Parliament to resign, and said that if they did not do this, they should be expelled from Congress. According to the statement the conference felt that the presence of African representatives in the Federal Parliament was stopping the world from taking Nyasaland's opposition to federation seriously. (*Federation Newsletter*, May 11, 1957.)

### C.D.C. Abandons Forestry Scheme

The Colonial Development Corporation announced during March that they were withdrawing from the Nyika Forestry Development Syndicate. Reference to reports that the withdrawal was due to "political imponderables" was made in the Federal Parliament. Replying to a question by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Williamson (Dominion Party), the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said that the Government did not accept any justification that the Federation was not a safe place for investment.

In Nyasaland, Mr. Leslie Little, M.L.C., said: "The utmost pressure should be brought on C.D.C. to either prove their statement or completely withdraw it." A leading Blantyre businessman said it was up to the two governments and the Colonial Office to investigate what these "imponderables" were and to see that they provided no further handicap to investment capital which was of vital importance to any possible future prosperity of the African himself. Mr. A. S. Sacranie, President of the Nyasaland Asian Convention, said Nyasaland was entitled to an explanation.

Lord Reith, Chairman of the C.D.C., in a message to the Federal Prime Minister, two weeks after the Corporation's withdrawal had been announced, said that it did not lack faith in the economic development and future of Nyasaland. He pointed out that the C.D.C. is at present expanding its Kasungu Tobacco Project, and hoped shortly to hear more about the Shire Valley, and that it will be glad to consider any other development possibilities in Nyasaland that offer economic returns.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 25, 1957) commented: "After its silence of nearly two weeks, the Colonial Development Corporation will not be surprised if the explanation it has now allowed to emerge for its statement about 'political imponderables' in Nyasaland comes in for careful examination. . . .

"The political imponderables, it seems, are confined to the question of obtaining a long lease of African Trust Land. Anticipated difficulties in this regard, 'when added to the many well-known and recognized risks of long-term projects in under-developed countries', decided the issue. This is a very different thing from 'political imponderables' in general rendering the risks excessive. It is something for, primarily, the Protectorate Government to worry about.

We hope the explanation will be read wherever—in America, for instance—the idea may have been implanted that the credit worthiness of the Federation is in some way to be doubted."

## Southern Rhodesia

### Franchise Commission Report.<sup>1</sup>

A WIDE variety of comments have been made on the Report of the Commission investigating territorial franchise of which Sir Robert Tredgold was Chairman.

The *Rhodesia Herald* (March 15, 1957) said: "If the majority of the people have the courage and the wisdom to accept the truths expressed in the report history may well record that it was the foundation-stone of racial peace and harmony not only in Southern Rhodesia but in the Federation as a whole. . . . The three Commissioners sought to find the basic truths on which a solution of the problem must stand. If the solution is to be in the tradition of real democracy, they found, a requirement in advance even of the necessity to retain government in responsible hands is a system for the just representation of all people of the Colony in the Legislature. The two requirements are, of course, complementary—as the Commission makes plain. Unless those exercising the powers of the Government are responsible, there is slim chance of the representation of the people in the Legislature remaining just for any length of time.

"We agree with the contention of the Commission that its plan offers a workable system of franchise that should endure for the foreseeable future. If it is accepted by the country, it will change radically the complexion of elections and the attitude of candidates to their constituents. As the Commission says, the Legislature eventually elected would approximate more nearly than now to a truly responsible Government, for it would be responsible to the people as a whole, not only a narrow electorate.

"This, of course, is precisely what those whose reactions are ruled by prejudice or self-interest, instead of a desire for justice to all, will fear most. But, to quote the Commission, 'Unjustified discontent is relatively innocuous. It is discontent that has a solid foundation and that cannot be voiced through the ordinary parliamentary channels, that can, and must indeed, disrupt a country.' "

The *African Weekly* (March 20, 1957) said: "It is common knowledge in this country that racial extremists on both sides of the colour line have no inclination whatsoever to accept any political half-measures or compromises. With regard to the franchise, nothing short of universal adult suffrage is likely to satisfy some African political leaders. It appears as if certain Europeans think the ideal is that only the most negligible number of Africans should be on the voters' roll. An examination of both attitudes will at once expose them for the impracticable propositions they actually are. . . . It appears to us that the document which the Franchise Commission produced is an admirable attempt to solve a most delicate problem. We admit that the suggestion of the fractional vote for people in the lower income group, which will almost entirely consist of Africans, may be viewed with suspicion by many of them, but the fact still remains that many who had erstwhile not enjoyed even the smallest particle of a vote are now being put in a position to neutralize to a certain extent Rhodesia's bitter acid of race politics."

Mr. R. W. Storey, Chairman of the Segregation Society, in a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald* (March 19, 1957) said: "When Africans begin to understand that, although in a given constituency their

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

aggregate of votes cast may be more than those cast by Europeans, yet, owing to the peculiar system of fractional voting, they do not count for so much, we can only see that they will consider themselves to be cheated (the classical example of the donkey and the carrot again), thus giving greater cause for the growth of racial bitterness and conflict. We can only see that pressure will be so great, especially external pressure, that the system of special voters will have to be dropped at some time in the future. Will those who have been enrolled under this qualification then be deprived of their vote, or as is more likely, will they be given a full vote without any fractional premise?

"We stand by our recommendations to the Commission that Africans should at the present stage of their emergence from primitive savagery be enrolled only for the purpose of electing Native councils in the Reserves and location, under Government or municipal supervision.

"Who can honestly deny that the present African members of the Federal Parliament have brought more racial politics into the House than obtained before they were appointed to their seats. We can only see that the position will deteriorate rather than improve as long as Europeans and Africans are on the same rolls or sit in the same parliaments."

The Chairman of the Bulawayo branch of the Interracial Association, Dr. Ian Sacks, said the recommendations of the Franchise Commission had weaknesses but were "a heroic attempt to solve a most difficult and delicate problem without recourse to adult suffrage". He said "I would like to see a more positive approach in the nature of a phased franchise charter towards adult suffrage."

Accusations that the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments were dictatorships and that the Territorial Government was attempting to "bulldoze" the recommendations of the Franchise Commission through Parliament were made at a Dominion Party meeting in Bulawayo by Mr. E. H. Kerfoot. He said it would have been very much fairer to have chosen a Commission more representative of the people.

He compared the Federal and the Territorial Governments to the dictatorships of Hitler and Mussolini without anyone being able "to curtail their immediate willingness to advance the African".

His party, he said, was not against the advancement of the African, but under the present Government the white man would have very little say in years to come. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 27, 1953.)

Mr. Hardwicke Holderness, M.P., said that the real danger of the Tredgold Franchise Commission report was not "Are we admitting too many Africans?" but "Are we admitting enough?"

In a franchise that admitted too few there was a danger they would either boycott the suffrage or there would not be enough to take a significant part in political affairs.

A memorandum opposing the report has been sent to all Members of the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Parliaments by the Central African branch of the League of Empire Loyalists.

The League, which has its headquarters in London, has as one of its aims the conscientious development of the Colonial Empire under British direction and local British leadership.

In its memorandum, the League's Central African branch says it is convinced the Franchise Commission's proposals should be rejected as quite impracticable. (*Rhodesia Herald*, April 17 and 18, 1953.)

Mr. C. C. Ngcebetsha, Chairman of the African section of the Bulawayo Advisory Board, said: "The recommendations are a blot on the history of Southern Rhodesia. They were obviously formulated with the main object of satisfying white voters at the expense of the Africans. This is again another proof of the lack of sincerity of the white people here. On the one hand they speak partnership,

but on the other they practise *apartheid*. We reject these recommendations because they are a positive perpetuation of African inferiority in the land of his birth."

Mr. F. Nehwati, a former treasurer of the Amalgamated Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union, said the vote held by Africans would be valueless. (*African Weekly*, March 20, 1957.)

Cyril Dunn writing in the *Observer* (March 17, 1957) said: "Those Africans with whom I have discussed the proposed franchise all believe that its novel complexities will in effect deny to Africans any real say in their own affairs for some considerable time."

"How can it be called a common roll," said one African, "when the Commission itself acknowledges that almost all ordinary voters will be white and all special voters will be black?" Mr. Hove said the Commission was not consistent. An African earning £35 or £39 a month came within the income bracket laid down for the "ordinary" voter, but because of the educational qualification such an African might become only a "special voter" with fractional vote. Most African University graduates started work at only £40 a year, so it could be appreciated how difficult it was for the ordinary school-leaving African to attain that income.

It was within the Commission's terms of reference to make recommendations concerning the election of African members to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. But they have remained absolutely silent on that point. This he considered one of the weaknesses of the report. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 30, 1957.)

### Industrial Conciliation

The Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd, addressing the Associated Mineworkers' Congress at Gwelo, discussed the new Industrial Conciliation Bill<sup>1</sup> which provides for the setting up of non-racial trade unions. He said it was necessary for the system of black and white jobs to disappear and he believed it was in the interests not only of employees, but also of employers in the mining industry and also the Government, to have strong, responsible trade unions.

The Prime Minister said: "It is, however, the responsibility of the trade unions to convince employees of the benefits attaching to membership. I believe that in Southern Rhodesia trade unions in general will have the sympathetic co-operation of employers. . . . I am deeply concerned that the fear of workers today that they will be replaced by Africans at low wages should be removed. The new legislation should once and for all remove this fear. This does not mean, however, that if a job at present is over-graded it will not have to be adjusted according to its worth. We are out to get proper grading of jobs at just rates of pay, depending on the economic worth of the job itself."

The President of the Associated Mineworkers of Rhodesia, Mr. Howard B. Bloomfield, said wages and grades set down by the industrial councils for the mining industry were binding only for European employees, and that African labour was now encroaching into the European grades at lower wages. "The tempo of this encroachment is increasing," said Mr. Bloomfield, "and the unscrupulous employer is taking every advantage of the fact that we are powerless, even if backed by the industrial councils, to enforce wage and qualification standards (for Africans).

"Only recently, some of our members were replaced by Africans at less than an eighth of the wage." Because the European mining artisan's trade was being fragmented, he said, his standards would fall and apprentices would become fewer. More alarming, said Mr. Bloomfield, "we will have no reasonable standard of workmanship in the future and the industry will suffer".

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 3 and 5.

The key to solid labour relations was for the pay rates for the various grades of work to be binding on all employees in the industry, so that "only the competition of skills would apply and not a competition based on race or colour. After all," said Mr. Bloomfield, "we do not see the African Member of the Federal Parliament being paid less than his European counterpart." It was important that the control of the mining industry remained in the hands of one industrial council, with one organization representing employers and another the employees. The Government had been wise last year to reject the formation of African unions. (*Sunday Mail*, March 31, 1957.)

Industrial labour matters concerning all races have now been centralized in one department of the Southern Rhodesia Department of Labour. Now, where formerly two officers dealt with Europeans and non-Europeans, one officer will handle both. "This means as far as we are concerned all races are equal as far as industrial labour matters are concerned," said a Department spokesman. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 26, 1957.)

Sir William Lawther, secretary-treasurer of the Miners' International Federation, criticized the Bill for trying to lay down the basis of what a trade union should be. "The only countries I know where the Government decides the type of union are the Communist countries. It is up to the unions to evolve their own type of leadership and organization. . . ." He could not see how the Bill would work in its present form, particularly in relation to the proposal to bring all workers in any one industry into one union. . . . The industrial council system, practised in Southern Rhodesia, was good in that it brought trade unionists to the realization that they had an important stake in the country.

Sir William spoke of the need for more expenditure on technical schools for mining and other industries. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 2, 1957.)

The *Times* (April 25, 1957) reported the first definite moves in opposition to the Bill. "Anxious about the possible effects of the new Bill on the trade unions in South Africa, trade union leaders from the Union have been meeting their Southern Rhodesian colleagues in Bulawayo. A deputation of South African trade unionists met trade union leaders from Salisbury and Bulawayo, including representatives of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Typographical Union, the Boilermakers' and Shipwrights' Union and others.

"The South African trade unionists brought with them a memorandum to be presented to the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister and Minister for Labour, Mr. Garfield Todd. One of the main points upsetting the South African unions is the Bill's insistence that unions in Southern Rhodesia should be autonomous. Several unions are controlled from head offices in the Union. In Johannesburg it is felt that enforced secession will weaken the South African unions.

"In addition, the Bill if it becomes law as it stands, may affect the expenditure and control of trade union funds from South Africa in Rhodesia. Promises of money for a new building on the site of the present Trades Hall may have to be reconsidered. Another point being raised concerns the Bill's provision for multi-racial unions. The South African unions argue that if an African joined a union in Rhodesia, which he would be entitled to do under the new Bill, and then wanted to work in South Africa, he could no longer belong to the union. They also fear that in view of the Nationalist Government's attitude towards trade unions, if it learnt that funds were being contributed by Africans to the South African unions the repercussions might be serious."

### Legislation Against Miscegenation?

The Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, Mr. A. R. W.

Stumbles, has stated that the position in regard to changing the immorality law is under consideration. The immorality law as it affects the White and Black races in Southern Rhodesia is at present one-sided. It is an offence for an African male and White female to consort illicitly. The position now being studied by the Government is undoubtedly the possibility of amending this old law so as to make it an offence for illicit consorting, as well, of European males and African females. (*Rhodesia Herald*, March 28, 1957.) A motion seeking to amend the law along these lines was passed in Parliament on May 2 by 17 votes to 8.

Mr. Stanlake Samkange said that at present "the law does not bar Africans from marrying White women. . . . It is believed that the Rhodesian Government is also planning an amendment to the Land Apportionment Act. This amendment will compel a European woman who marries an African to live with her husband in the African townships." (*Golden City Post*, April 7, 1957.)

### The Position of Mrs. Matimba<sup>1</sup>

Elias Mtepuka, a Nyasaland journalist, commenting on the Matimba case said: "The Rhodesian authorities have no law like South Africa's, forbidding Black to marry White, but were reluctant to allow Mrs. Matimba, Dutch-born Adriaana Van Hoorn, into the land, so Mr. Matimba went alone to plead, and eventually Adriaana was granted entry. As a European, Mrs. Matimba could not live with her husband in a 'Native area' and he, as an African, could not live with her in a 'European area'—that is forbidden by the Land Apportionment Act.

"But mission farms are exempt and Mr. and Mrs. Matimba and their baby daughter are to live at St. Faith's, an Anglican mission about 100 miles from Salisbury. The authorities have now, however, had some second thoughts and have decided to amend the Land Apportionment Act to bring Mrs. Matimba within the definition of 'Native' so that she may thus live in any African area. The young Matimbas may, for example, set up house in Harare, Salisbury's location. But the change will have wider implications. . . . Mrs. Matimba will be subject to the application of discriminatory legislation and treatment. If she works in a town she will have to take out a 'town pass' (certificate of service) and produce it to the police on demand. To live with her husband in a location she will have to obtain a certificate from the Register of Natives to prove that she is lawfully married to Patrick Matimba. In the Native Administration Department offices she will have to be registered as 'Native Female Adriaana' and in time of sickness she will have to go to the 'Native' hospital.

"But while her husband is compelled to use the 'Native' entrance to banks, post offices and other public buildings, Mrs. Matimba—like half-caste Coloured girls married to Africans—will be able to slip through the European entrances, and the doors of European hotels, restaurants and dance halls will be similarly open to her."

## EAST AFRICA Kenya

### African Election Results

THE results of the voting in the eight constituencies were:

Nairobi: Tom Mboya, majority 392; Central Province: Bernard Mate, majority 9,984; Ukamba: James Muimi, majority 1,830; Rift

<sup>1</sup>DIORIST IV, 4 and 5.

*Valley:* Daniel Arap Moi, majority 3,433; *North Nyanza:* Masinde Muliru, majority 657; *South Nyanza:* Laurence Ogudu, majority 5,682; *Central Nyanza:* Oginga Odinga, majority 5,956; *Coast Province:* Gideon Ngala, majority 867.

Only two of the former African members have been to the Legislature—Mr. Muimi and Mr. Arap Moi. The first African Minister, Mr. Ohanga, polled only 3,360 votes against 9,316 cast for Mr. Odinga, a fellow tribesman; Mr. Jeremia, the first African to be appointed a Parliamentary Secretary, was at the bottom of the poll at the Coast and forfeited his deposit; and Mr. Mathu, who was expected to lose to Mr. Mate, did so by the heavy margin of almost 10,000 votes. Mr. Gikonyo, a former Member, found only 238 supporters in a poll of 4,255 in Nairobi; in North Nyanza Mr. Awori obtained only 6,071 of the 21,980 votes cast and so lost his seat; and in South Nyanza the sitting member, Mr. Arap Chuma, had merely 721 votes in a total of 33,645.

### Biographical Notes on Elected Members

Mr. Tom Mboya, aged 28, secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour since 1953. Recently returned to Nairobi from a course at Ruskin College, Oxford, and visits to the United States and Belgium. Educated at Kabaa in the Machakos district, Yala in Central Nyanza, and Mangu in the Central Province. Worked for Nairobi City Council; became full-time secretary of Kenya Local Government Workers' Union.

Mr. Bernard Mate, aged 34, started his education at the C.M.S. primary school, Chogoria, and then went to Alliance High School, where he obtained school certificate. 1943 entered Makerere College for teacher training course. 1946-50 Principal of Chogoria School. 1950 commenced studies in U.K., where he obtained a degree in history and philosophy at the University of Wales, Bangor, and took an educational course at Edinburgh University. Latterly on staff of Teacher Training Centre in the Meru area.

Mr. J. N. Muimi, aged 40, previously nominated Member for Ukamba. Educated at Government schools, the Alliance High School and Makerere College; has taught in African secondary schools. Supervisor of Kitui District Education Board and member of local African district council. Holds the Coronation medal and was awarded a Badge of Honour in 1955.

Mr. T. D. Arap Moi, aged 32, previously nominated Member for Rift Valley. Educated at African Inland Mission and Government schools. Became head teacher of a Government African School, and later taught at Teacher Training Schools. Member of the Kenya Meat Commission, the Rift Valley Education Board, and African Girls' High School Board of Governors, and of the African Land Development Board.

Mr. M. Muliru, aged 35, educated at St. Mary's School, Yala. Graduated in philosophy, history and education, at the University of Cape Town and since his return to Kenya has been a teacher.

Mr. Laurence Ogudu, aged 34, trained as a teacher and was for a time a headmaster. He is now a farmer in the Kabuoch location.

Mr. A. O. Odinga, aged about 46, President of the Luo Union, educated at Maseno, Alliance High School and Makerere College, where he obtained a diploma in teaching. After teaching at Maseno School and the Veterinary Training Centre, Maseno, he founded the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation of which he is managing director. 1947-49 he was a member of the Central Nyanza African District Council and of the Sakawa Location Advisory Council.

Mr. R. G. Ngala, aged 34, supervisor of African Anglican Church Schools in Mombasa. Educated at Kaloleni School, Alliance High School and Makerere College, where he took a teaching diploma.

Became headmaster of Maynard School, Mbale. 1952-55 headmaster of Buxton School, Mombasa; took a short education course at Redland College, Bristol. Appointed to Mombasa African Advisory Council in 1953 and served on African Affairs Committee, Regional Education Boards, and the Advisory Council on African Education.

### Demands for Constitutional Reform

A joint statement by the newly elected African Members said: "We the eight elected African Members wish to make it publicly known that we do not consider ourselves nor those we represent a party to the Lyttelton Plan nor the stand-still agreement contained therein.

"We therefore hereby declare (1) the Lyttelton Plan and agreement null and void; (2) that none of the undersigned shall accept a Ministerial post or the position of Parliamentary Under-Secretary; (3) that the most urgent and immediate need is to secure constitutional reforms in the Legislature giving everyone effective and real representation, to which end it is our intention to direct all our efforts and energies."

In a letter (April 8) to African members the Chief Secretary said that the present constitution of the Colony including the composition of the Legislative Council was based on the Lyttelton Plan. This could be amended if the alterations made were acceptable to all parties concerned. Although the African group in the Legislative Council did not in April 1954 positively endorse the new constitutional arrangements, two members had with the concurrence of the remainder, participated in the Government then formed, and taken part with the Government and with the other groups in the Legislative Council, in subsequent negotiations for the modification of the constitution. The Government could not accept the view that the African group in the Legislative Council did not adopt or participate in the present constitutional arrangements.

The letter said that the present agreed arrangements for the government of the Colony would continue in spite of their decision to refrain from participation in the government. Paragraph 8 of the Command Paper which formed the annexure to the Secretary of State's dispatch of April 15, 1954, provided that if any of the unofficial members of the Council of Ministers resigned or otherwise vacated his office, the Governor would nominate another person of the same race to take his place; and that if no such person considered suitable by the Governor were available, it would be open to the Governor to nominate an official. It follows that in the circumstances created by your refusal to take part in the government the Governor can make use of these provisions.

The Government is prepared to enter into discussions at any time on proposals for constitutional change. The Government does not believe that constitutional change is either impossible or undesirable. But it does consider that, in any circumstances and whatever the constitutional arrangements might be, it would be necessary to enter into full discussions with all groups jointly before any changes were made. At present a change made without agreement of all groups in the Legislative Council would be a breach of faith and therefore cannot be contemplated. The Government attaches great importance to agreements made with groups in the Legislative Council.

In reply the African Elected Members said: "Reference is made to two of our predecessors having accepted posts in the Government under the Lyttelton Plan and that later on the group behaved as though they had accepted the plan. This statement is far from a correct interpretation of the situation.

"The two African members had no mandate from either the African people or their respective constituencies. They acted in-

dependently and as individuals (not in the interests of their people—this is adequately proved by their defeat at the recent elections), the other African nominated members did not in fact concur with them. The adoption of the 1954 agreement was in fact a breach of faith on the part of the Government in safeguarding the interests of all racial communities. The strong feeling of the African Community was manifest in the action taken by Mr. Mathu when he walked out of the Executive Council. Later in 1955 four of the six African nominated members strongly opposed the appointment of a European elected member to the Ministry for Agriculture. The Government did not listen to the majority opinion but acted on the opinion of the two Africans already in the Government. As a consequence the two members (Messrs. Ohanga and Jeremia) were in fact left out of the African Unofficial Members' Organization."

It is maintained that government without Africans defeats the purpose, aim and spirit of the Lyttelton Plan. According to Part II (10) of the Colonial Secretary's Dispatch of April 1954, all arrangements were to be regarded as experimental until the next General Election. The following extract from the White Paper on the Lyttelton plan is quoted: (Para. 10) "If at the election the electorate return Members who are willing to serve as Members of the Government formed in accordance with these proposals, there will be no further changes in the proportion of Members of either the Legislative Council or Council of Ministers, either as between the main racial groups or as between officials and unofficials, before 1960. Changes in the nature of portfolios held by various members of the Council of Ministers after the next election are not precluded provided that the conditions set out at the beginning of this paragraph are met, but H.M. Government would not initiate such changes. H.M. Government similarly will not initiate any changes in the communal basis of the franchise to become effective before the election of 1960."

It is claimed therefore that Para. 8 quoted by the Chief Secretary does not apply and that the continuance of the Government as at present constituted is in direct conflict with the spirit, aim and purpose of the Lyttelton plan. "The African Members will only take part in talks with the Government, but leave it to the Government if it so wishes, to ask representatives of other communities to be present. The African Members would, however, feel that before such talks are held the Government should make known its decision on the existence or otherwise of a case for increased African representation."

### Development Programme

Approximately £23 million is to be spent by the Government in the next three years in expanding Kenya's economy and developing the Colony's production. A Sessional Paper issued on March 26 described the Government's policy as based on the encouragement of development mainly through private enterprise. "But", the Paper emphasized, "in underdeveloped territories it is necessary for a Government which wishes to encourage economic development not only to remove natural disadvantages but to provide those basic services which already exist in more developed economies. The problem is to arrive at a position where the cumulative process of investment leads to higher production, higher incomes and increased consumption, which in turn leads to further investment; thus development becomes a cumulative process. To set and keep these forces in motion, there has to be continuing injection of imported capital and skill."

Discussing the availability of development capital, the Paper said: "The extent to which this can be provided by the local market is extremely limited. . . . The possibility of public saving by a Budget surplus has temporarily disappeared as a result of the Emer-

gency. . . . It is necessary, therefore, for both public and private enterprise to look for external sources of development capital to supplement local capital. Useful infusions of capital are taking place from countries other than the United Kingdom—but it is to London that the Colony will have to look for the great bulk of the capital requirements of both the public and private sectors. The rate of development of Kenya will be controlled to a large extent by the ability of London to continue to fulfil its role of financing both public and private enterprise."

Kenya and the rest of East Africa had, the report said, obtained a fair share of funds available on the London market. For example, in the last five years, out of a total amount of £157 million raised by all Dominions and Colonies in London, East Africa has obtained £52 million—or one-third of the total—and of the latter sum, Kenya itself has raised about one-third.

The Paper said: "The economic development of a country must be planned on the basis of those known assets and advantages which can be readily developed. In Kenya these consist primarily of agriculture, forests, wild animal life, the climate, suitable conditions for secondary industries based on an agricultural position, to provide administrative and transport services for the other East African territories. . . ."

There was every reason to hope that, given stable political conditions, the plans for the further development of Kenya were based on sound economic grounds.

There are new proposals for expenditure in the field of technical education, probation hostels, approved schools and the Game Department. Expenditure on African housing, electricity development, the Public Works Department and Public Works Non-Recurrent is expected to show an increase. The Paper points out that, comparing the period of the last Development Programme with the present one, total expenditure on economic services falls from £21.8 million to £15.09 million. Total expenditure on social services falls slightly as a relative percentage of total expenditure from 19.71 per cent to 18.60 per cent. Within this total, education expenditure falls from 10.46 per cent to 9.47 per cent, although under individual heads African education rises from 3.46 per cent to 4.03 per cent, Arab education from 0.15 per cent to 0.18 per cent, technical and trade education from nil to 0.67 per cent, and adult education from 0.39 per cent to 0.50 per cent. Health expenditure drops slightly from 4.09 per cent to 3.51 per cent.

There is a substantial fall in proposed expenditure on internal security services, which is compensated for to some extent by a rise in expenditure on defence services.

The percentage of total expenditure allocated for general administrative services rises slightly from 9 per cent to 10.05 per cent. Within this total there are no major changes. The most significant change is the fall in proposed expenditure on Government offices from 0.98 per cent to 0.26 per cent.

### Emergency Regulations and Land Consolidation

Opening a short adjournment debate on Kenya in the House of Commons last week, Mrs. Barbara Castle (Labour) quoted official figures that in two months this year 8,989 persons had been arrested in the Colony under the emergency regulations.

The administration were releasing about 1,600 monthly from the detention camps; yet others were being arrested at the rate of 4,500 a month, not for Mau Mau offences, but mainly for illegal movements and breaking curfew. Of the 8,989 arrests 8,648 were for illegal movements and pass offences.

"The British Parliament, responsible for these Africans, should

look at the nature of the crimes for which these people are being rounded up like cattle in such large numbers. What is the crime involved in these curfew offences, illegal movements, and pass offences? The Under-Secretary will agree with me that we must at all costs avoid creating in this British Colony any of the atmosphere which now pollutes race relations in South Africa."

The workless who moved without a pass committed an offence. They were not granted passes to go to Nairobi to look for work, and so they risked it out of financial and economic desperation. "Then they are arrested and imprisoned, fined or sent home, to start the whole vicious circle again."

It was no sin to travel, perhaps to see relatives, or even to see the world. We must have a very good excuse if we wished to stop people from moving about just because they wished to do so. The Colonial Secretary had been the first to deny that the arrests were made for Mau Mau reasons.

One serious factor was the land consolidation programme "upon which we have been congratulating ourselves that it is a sign of advance in Kenya". Yet it was creating a landless proletariat for which no provision had been made.

Mr. John Profumo, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said that those whose secret sympathies had been and perhaps still were with Mau Mau presented a major security problem. There might still be some even among the 40,000 released ex-detainees.

"After any great emergency there are special circumstances to be dealt with before a country returns to normal.

"I should not like it to be thought that the Government in Kenya are not taking vigorous measures to solve the unemployment problem by relief agricultural work, by placing families in forest settlements, and in the Rift Valley with farmers, by great irrigation schemes now afoot, and by encouraging a daily supply of workers and traders to enter Nairobi. The authorities have done a great deal to improve the situation. There are signs that the pressure is being reduced, and that workers can pick and choose to a certain extent the jobs they want to do." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 25, 1957.)

### Death Penalty Lifted

The Government has lifted the death penalty for the three remaining capital offences under the emergency regulations. At the same time it made it clear that it would not hesitate to re-impose the death penalty in the event of any serious outbreak of violence. The offences concerned are: The unlawful possession of a firearm; consorting with an unlawfully armed person; and administering, or being present at and consenting to the administration of, a Mau Mau oath. The decision has been made in view of "the marked improvement" in the situation. The three offences will now be punishable by life imprisonment. (*The Times*, April 2, 1957.)

### Discussions on Labour Imports Fail

Proposals by the Government to import labour from Ruanda Urundi to work in the Colony's sisal and sugar plantations have fallen through. It was announced that the Belgian Government was unable to agree to a proposed pilot scheme, but that the matter might be reconsidered "at a later date".

Mr. Tom Mboya, M.L.C., General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, said that news of the breakdown in negotiations came as "very welcome news" to him and to the Federation. "We have always strongly objected to any immigration of labour from the Congo into Kenya. The Federation had approached the Belgian unions federation to secure their aid in bringing pressure to bear on

the Belgian Government and ensure that this deal was not permitted to go through." (*East African Standard*, February 15, 1957.)

## Tanganyika

### Constitutional Reforms

SIR EDWARD TWINING, Governor of Tanganyika, announced that a new Ministerial system would be introduced this year to replace the present membership system in the Territory's Legislative Council. The change would be introduced by July 1, if possible, and not later than October. It had been approved by the Secretary of State, and was subject to its financial provisions being approved by the Council.

The redesignation of Official Members as Ministers was not just a change of name. "It is an indication that from now on they will be expected to concentrate on the making of policy, the explanation of that policy to the public, and the responsible task of seeing that policy is carried out uniformly throughout the Territory."

The Governor said: "No special significance should be attached to any racial balance which may emerge from those selected and prepared to serve as Assistant Ministers in this interim measure in the development of the ministerial system." He added that it was "quite unrealistic" to suggest that present conditions were ripe for the introduction of universal suffrage. The next step in the Territory's constitutional development was the introduction of a qualitative franchise in 1958, the year of the first elections. . . .

As soon as the new legislature came into being after the 1958 elections, a committee would be appointed to study further constitutional developments. (*Manchester Guardian*, May 1, 1957.)

Of the six Assistant Ministers appointed, four are African, one European and one Asian.

A Bill for holding elections in three or four constituencies brought before the Legislative Council was withdrawn for the present session because of opposition from African Unofficial Members who stated that they opposed the Bill on the grounds that it did not cover elections on a Territory-wide basis and they would prefer to hold up any election in this Territory until that was possible. . . . The Unofficial Members concerned were told that they must accept responsibility for the postponement of what had been intended as an important step forward in constitutional development. (*The Times*, May 4, 1957.)

The proposal that clan or kindred heads be included on the electorate was included in the Bill which sought to make provision for the first time for the election of Members of Legislative Council in certain constituencies. The Bill provided for a common electoral roll based on qualitative franchise and conformed with the existing constitution whereby three Representative Members of Council, an African, an Asian and a European, represent each constituency. A voter must record one vote for each of the three seats in his constituency. . . .

Two necessary qualifications for the vote are age and residence. Secondly the prospective voter must possess one of three qualifications: namely, an educational training equivalent to Standard VIII or higher; an income of more than £150 per annum; or at the time of registration any one of certain offices. These offices include membership or former membership of Legislative Council, and membership of various local government or local government advisory bodies. In addition chiefs and various types of headmen qualify under this category as well as the heads of clan or kindred groups.

Qualifications for candidates require that they satisfy the conditions as laid down for a voter and be at least 25 years of age. A candidate must also have spent four out of the last six years in Tanganyika, have sufficient fluency in English to be able to read and understand Legislative Council documents and have absolute fluency in either English or Swahili. The candidate must also be able and willing to take the oath of allegiance, have been nominated by at least 25 voters from his constituency (15 of whom must be of his own race) and have produced a deposit of £25. The candidate must also either be educated to at least Standard XII, have an income of at least £200 a year, or have previous membership of Legislative Council.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies in a dispatch to the Governor commented on the position as regards votes for women, relatively few of whom will at present qualify, and said that this was an unavoidable condition which would remedy itself as the Territory progressed. (*Public Relations Department*, March 22, 1957.)

### Assistant Ministers Named

The six Assistant Ministers appointed are Mr. Derek Bryceson, for Social Services (Labour); Mr. Amir Yusafali Karimjee, Assistant Minister without Portfolio; Chief H. M. Lugusha, for Social Development; Mr. David P. K. Makwaia, for Land; Chief John Maruma, for Social Services (African Education); and Chief Humbi Ziota, for Agriculture. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 16, 1957.)

### Restrictions on T.A.N.U.

Mr. J. Callaghan (Labour) speaking in the House of Commons said that protests had been reaching London about the treatment of the Tanganyika African National Union, whose President, Mr. Nyerere, had been banned from addressing open-air meetings. This appeared to be a new form of censorship which the Governor was imposing, presumably because he found it difficult to bring any complaints against the contents of the speeches.

In reply the Colonial Secretary said that an innovation which had great importance for Tanganyika was contained in the proposals for the introduction of a Ministerial system which the Governor had placed before the Legislative Council. It was very unfortunate that the atmosphere should have been clouded by the recent activities of the Tanganyika African National Union. The idea had been spread that the T.A.N.U. was above the law and neither the Governor nor he (Mr. Lennox-Boyd) were prepared to uphold that idea. The action taken by the Governor had his entire support. Mr. Callaghan asked why Mr. Nyerere, the President, was denied access to Tanga Province, as he was anxious to get there and put the position right. Mr. Lennox-Boyd said it had been held impossible that there should be large-scale open-air meetings and any proposals Mr. Nyerere had could be put to the Governor.

### Views Expressed by U.T.P.

A delegation of the leading members of the United Tanganyika Party arrived in London during March. The leader of the delegation, Mr. Brian Willis, the Party's Director-General, used to be the Public Relations Officer to the Publicity Department of the Conservative Central Office in London. The other members are Mr. Stephen Emmanuel, a sisal planter of Greek origin, Mr. H. K. Virani, an estate agent who is a follower of the Aga Khan, Sheikh Hussain Juma, Vice-Chairman of the Party, and Mr. M. R. Barwani, its Organizing Secretary, formerly Vice-President of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

Mr. Willis complained of widespread ignorance amongst businessmen of the immense opportunities existing in Tanganyika. He said:

"This is admittedly our own fault, for we have failed to publicize ourselves and this is something we should rectify immediately. But the final answer is that Britain, which is responsible for us, must show her concern and interest now before it is too late." (*Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1957.)

Mr. Ivor Bayldon, Chairman of the United Tanganyika Party, stated in a Press release that it was important that everyone should consider the implications of increasing trade union activity in the Territory. He said that the U.T.P. supported the principle of trade unionism, but believed that trade unions should be non-political, since "invariably trade unions suffer when they become entangled in politics. . . ."

"The U.T.P. has already urged that employers should give thought to forms of co-partnership. There are many schemes under which employees are given an interest in the success of the concern for which they work. It is vital to the future of Tanganyika that Africans are brought increasingly into the economic life of the country and employers should give urgent consideration to schemes which will tie the interests of their employees in with the interests of their employers. Trade unions will be serving a valuable function if they also think along these lines." (*Tanganyika Standard*, February 11, 1957.)

## Uganda

### Campaign for Self-Government

THE Progressive Party issued an invitation to all political parties to discuss a joint plan for self-government for Uganda. The Secretary of the Congress, Dr. B. N. Kununka, said that Congress leaders had already studied the Progressive Party's proposals for self-government and that they found it very difficult to agree to them. (*Uganda Argus*, March 27, 1957.)

These proposals were published on March 27. The party suggests that there should be 45 Elected Members in the Council. Three *ex-officio* Members and 12 Representative Members should, at the discretion of the Governor, replace the present Back Benchers. The leader of the party with a majority of seats in the Council, after it has been reconstituted, should become the "Leader of Government Business" and should be asked to form a Ministry.

The Party proposes that Ministers of Defence and External Affairs, Finance, Justice, Corporations and Communications and the Minister of Works should be appointed from *ex-officio* Members and others.

From the Representative Members should be appointed the Ministers of Local Government, Education, Health, Land, Trade, Community Development, Natural Resources and a Minister without Portfolio. There should be a Speaker, to be elected by the Council either from among Members or outside it. Referring to the position of the Kabaka and Abakama, the Party proposes that the Kabaka would have precedence over the Leader of Government Business. In the same way in the other Agreement kingdoms each Omukama would have precedence. (*Uganda Argus*.)

Other parties accepted the invitation to the conference and a meeting was held on April 6 consisting of leaders from five parties, the Progressive Party, the Muslim Union, the Review Party, the Electors' Union, and the Labour Party. (*The Observer*, April 7, 1957.)

A motion that negotiations be opened with H.M. Government to secure self-government for Uganda by 1958 except for matters of defence and foreign affairs, and complete independence by 1961, was defeated in the Uganda Legislative Council last week after a debate

which was described by one European Member as the most interesting he had heard in the House. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, May 9, 1957.)

### Advance in Education

The Report on the Public Service Commission for the period ending December 31, 1956, gave figures to illustrate the advance in education in recent years.

Numbers of successful candidates for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate:

	Africans	Asians
1953	191	53
1954	253	134
1955	334	106

In December 1956 there were 69 students in the U.K. on Government scholarships. This figure did not include those studying overseas on Buganda and other African Local Government awards.

### Makerere College

Two innovations have been announced from Makerere for the long vacation. Firstly there is an adult education course arranged by the Department of Extra Mural Studies. Students will be divided into seven groups, tackling one subject apiece from the following: Local government; political parties and elections; machinery of democratic government; law and democracy; trade unionism and joint staff committees; women in public life; and urban problems in East Africa. They will join up for daily lectures devoted to economic topics, which should influence their thought and approach to sociological, political—and perhaps philosophical—trends. Secondly, the College Guild has planned a Pan-African students' conference for June-July. This is in conformity with the Guild's external policy of collaborating with other student groups "towards a strong Pan-African movement which shall play its full part in the promotion and maintenance of a world students' unity".

It was feared that freedom of speech might not be allowed in Uganda and that some students might be refused visas, but the Guild has received an assurance from the Protectorate Government that no impediment will be raised. (*East African Standard*, March 8, 1957.)

### The Aims of Congress

The Uganda National Congress has announced that its aims are: (i) to create a federal Government system for Uganda; (ii) to get the leaders of Uganda elected by the people; (iii) to get self-government now; (iv) to put the economy of Uganda into the hands of its people; (v) to extend indiscriminately education and medical facilities and justice to every person.

The Chairman, Mr. J. W. Kiwanuka, announced that his party was prepared to negotiate with the British Government and could immediately produce a constitutional plan for self-government if the Government invites it to discuss the question. (*Uganda Post*, May 11, 1957.)

### Sir Andrew Cohen's Broadcast

In a B.B.C. broadcast on April 7, Sir Andrew Cohen said that political advancement must go hand in hand with social-economic development in Uganda. "In a country like Uganda you can't do things in education or the economic field without creating a demand by Africans for a larger and larger part in all that is going forward; and it is a demand which makes sense, because these things can only be done well with the active co-operation of elected, responsible African institutions. . . . In Uganda the basic political problem is not so much racial as tribal. . . ."

"Our task has been . . . to give due weight to tribal loyalties and the development of tribal councils and at the same time to building up representative central institutions for the country as a whole. . . . How else should we achieve this central loyalty but by giving a very large share in the centre to Africans? Half the Legislative Council now consists of Africans, including elected representatives from all over the country—indirectly elected at present though direct election is being discussed. And there are three African Ministers . . . nationalism is probably the strongest force in Africa today. . . ."

"Nationalism in the sense I mean is something without which you do not achieve nationhood. It is the cement you need to build a country. We clearly cannot accept extremist views but if we do not succeed in working with the nationalists—and this could be their fault as well as ours—we shall lose the advantage of something which can not only be a constructive force in the social and economic spheres but also an important unifying force politically. . . ."

"Africans—nationalists and others—have their own deeply valued traditions, attitudes and aspirations. We may be sure of their response, because the Africans of Uganda have a very great regard for Western, and indeed British, ideas and ideals, and—I can say this with certainty—they are anxious for the help of British people in achieving their own progress."

### Lukiko's Petition to the Queen Rejected

In reply to the petition from the Lukiko of Buganda for discussions about independence within a specified period, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd, has denied that there has been any departure from the spirit of the agreements made between H.M. Government and Buganda.

The reply handed to the Katikiro by the Resident in Buganda said that the petition had been laid before the Queen but that the Government had been unable to advise Her Majesty to accede to the request for talks between members of the Buganda and British Governments, with the purpose of laying down a time-table for the independence of Buganda.

## Ethiopia

### U.S. Special Representative's Visit

THE Ethiopian Government announced that Mr. James P. Richards, special representative of the President of the United States, visited Addis Ababa to explain to the Emperor and Minister for Foreign Affairs the new policy of the United States towards the Middle East.

Mr. Richards "stated the conviction of the American Government that the peoples of the Middle Eastern area and the people of America have a common interest in their joint efforts to preserve liberty and freedom through the maintenance of security against international Communism".

He emphasized that it is the policy of the President and the American Government if necessary and if requested to use the armed forces of the United States to help any nation in the area that may be subject to armed attack by a country under the control of international Communism.

"Ambassador Richards made it clear that the United States Middle East policy does not seek to establish any sphere of influence or fill any power vacuum in the region nor does it aim at securing military bases. The policy is solely designed to strengthen the nations of the area, so that they can maintain their independence and territorial integrity."

The Ethiopian Government expressed cordial support of the

American doctrine and stressed the importance of close collaboration between the countries of the Middle East.

"There was complete agreement on the opposition of both Governments to aggression from any source and their determination to use all legitimate means to prevent it. The discussions further demonstrated that the Governments of Ethiopia and the United States are anxious to work together to the end that the following principles shall prevail in international relations: (1) respect for the sovereign equality of all nations under the Charter of the United Nations; (2) protection of the right of all nations to choose their own form of government without interference; (3) non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of one State by another; and (4) recognition of the interdependence of nations and the obligations of nations to respect the just rights and interests of others.

"The Ethiopian Government discussed with Ambassador Richards possibilities of economic and military assistance under the American doctrine. He agreed to provide certain assistance in both fields in addition to other assistance previously agreed upon." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, April 25, 1957.)

### Radical Changes in Addis Ababa

A Special Correspondent (*Times*, April 18, 1957) wrote: "In strong contrast with the country, Addis Ababa, has undergone a radical change in the past 20 years. It is now the seat of a highly centralized administration. It is also the home of numerous advisers, including the American officials concerned with the Point Four programme which has distributed in the last five years \$37 million in military and economic aid. The foreign trade balance, helped by the increasingly large amounts of coffee exported, is now satisfactory.

"Externally, too, Addis Ababa has changed. The shanty-town of 20 years ago is gradually being transformed into a modern capital. . . . The Emperor is mainly responsible for this progress. . . . There is a striking parallel between his policy and the first Roman Emperor's. His foremost achievement is the *Pax Augusta*, which he has created in all Ethiopia. (The troubles in the Somali areas are an unfortunate exception to the general stability.) His coolest admirers have to admit: 'Only Haile Selassie could have brought us the peace and unity we lacked for hundreds of years.'

"Like Augustus he has also rigidly centralized the cumbersome feudal administration, and integrated the younger generation of the nobility into the framework of the new State, if necessary securing their loyalty by their marriages to his relations. . . .

"At present there is a parliament building, complete with a clock-tower modelled on Big Ben. But the scope of the deputies' powers is still strictly limited, and the first national elections have yet to be held. . . . There is a Conservative Party which regards even the present concessions to foreign business as excessive, and would bitterly oppose further measures to attract capital from abroad. But one can be quietly optimistic about Ethiopia's future. With great natural resources and an unusual degree of national solidarity, her prospects are as healthy as any nation's in Africa."

## SUDAN

### The Eisenhower Doctrine

In the course of discussions with Ambassador James P. Richards, President Eisenhower's special representative, members of the Government stated that they were loathe to entangle their country in international complications which might, one way or another, jeopardize their hard-won independence. They said their economic

system left a wide margin for initiative and private enterprise and they were convinced that they had nothing to gain by a Socialist or a Communist revolution. They were following President Eisenhower's proposals for the Middle East with great interest and were also acquainted with Mr. Dulles's evidence before Congress's Special Committee on Foreign Relations in which he explained President Eisenhower's proposals. These statements indicated that President Eisenhower's proposals were intended to help combat international Communism (a) by giving economic aid to those countries that ask for it, and (b) by giving economic aid as a means for removing those factors which are known to help in breeding Communism. . . .

We are afraid that President Eisenhower's proposals would split the Arab League asunder, and the differences which were not beyond repair may now be aggravated. It would have been more appropriate if the proposals were directed to the Arab League as such.

It seems to us that these proposals would establish Israel for ever, and thus establish a permanent danger for us.

They do not deal with the basic problems of the Middle East such as Palestine, Arab refugees, the future of the Suez Canal, and the Aqaba gulf, etc.

The proposals hint that there is a vacuum in the area. We do not admit that there is such a vacuum, and if any, it will be filled by us.

They promise military aid against a Communist aggression: but they do not promise any aid in the case of aggression from other powers; as if the final product of one type of aggression is different from the other.

After Cabinet discussions the Government informed the Richards Mission that they understood that economic aid could be separated from military aid and that its acceptance would not prevent them from maintaining their positive neutrality. The schemes to be financed under this Doctrine would be proposed by the Sudan and agreed upon by the United States and funds would be placed at the disposal of the Government. Technical experts involved would be limited only to those required for the agreed projects and acceptance of economic aid would not bar them from accepting aid from other countries including the U.S.S.R.

The Government added: "This being our understanding of the picture, the Council of Ministers prefer at the present time to refrain from taking any resolution accepting or rejecting such aid; it will continue its study of the matter and will let its decision be known in due course." (*Sudan News*, May 1, 1957.)

### Relations with Arab, Asian and African States

Outlining his Government's foreign policy, the Prime Minister, Sayed Abdulla Khalid said that as a member of the Arab League, Sudan would always try "to bring the Arab nations closer together and on matters of common interest to promote a co-ordinated foreign policy. In the economic as well as in social and cultural fields there will always be a wide scope for the exchange of views, experience and technical information between Arab countries. We will not also lose sight of the fact that this country is directly interested to see the standards of living in the area raised through our common efforts.

"At the same time our position as one of the few independent African nations places certain responsibilities on us to advance the cause of freedom in Africa and give encouragement and guidance to millions of Africans towards a freer and better life. So while we look up to the North we cannot help but also look in the other direction towards Africa. Because of our geographical position we can bring a detached and sober point of view to bear on the affairs of either of the two areas to which we are drawn by bonds of common interests and common sentiment.

"Our participation in the Bandung Nations Community and the Afro-Asian Group as well as the Arab League emphasizes and symbolizes this dual relationship. We have joined those organizations to participate with other members in positive action to promote the prosperity and the political well-being of all the emerging new nations in the two Continents. Let me, however, emphasize that none of these organizations has any aggressive intentions. They do not seek any other aim but the advancement of freedom and peace."

### Support for Algerians

Sayed Mohod Ahmed Mahgoub, Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking before the Political Committee of the U.N. said that Sudan supported Algerian demands for self-determination not just because there are fellow Arabs and fellow African nations, but because the Sudan stands for liberty throughout the world.

In answer to M. Pineau's assertion that Algeria was an internal matter for France alone, Sayed Mahgoub said that when many nations began to move rapidly towards freedom and independence there are few problems which concern one country alone or come under local law. In Algeria, he said, there is a small war which may threaten world peace and security.

### Extension of Broadcasting Services

A new radio station shortly to be brought into operation will supplement the existing service broadcast from Khartoum and will bring radio reception within the reach of a large number of listeners in surrounding territories who have not hitherto been able to receive the programmes of the Sudan Broadcasting Service. In addition it is planned to use the new transmitters for broadcasts directed to Europe.

## SOUTH AFRICA

### Native Laws Amendment Bill<sup>1</sup>

THE Native Laws Amendment Bill has been passed in both Houses of the South African Parliament. Following upon widespread opposition from the churches the clause restricting freedom of worship was redrafted. As it now stands the Minister of Native Affairs may direct that no African shall attend any church, religious service or church function in an urban area outside an African residential area if, in his opinion, the Africans are causing a nuisance to European residents of the area or it is undesirable that Africans should be present on the premises in numbers in which they ordinarily attend. If a notice issued by the Minister under this subsection is disobeyed, the African and not the Church will be guilty of an offence.

Among other provisions of the Bill are that the approval of the Minister, given with the concurrence of the local authority concerned, and subject to such conditions as the Minister may deem fit, is necessary before any school, hospital, club, or similar institution which is attended by an African or to which an African (other than an employee) is admitted, may be conducted in an urban area outside an African residential area. This will not apply in the event of an African being admitted to any hospital in an emergency. The Minister may direct that no Africans (other than employees) shall attend any place of entertainment situated within an urban area outside an African Residential area.

The residential rights of Africans in the urban areas are to be still further restricted. An African must have resided uninterruptedly from birth in an African urban area in order to be allowed to remain

there without having to seek permission. Africans originally allowed into urban or proclaimed areas for specific periods (e.g. seasonal labourers) will no longer be permitted to return unless they obtain permission.

On application by a police officer, manager or location or hostel superintendent, a Native Commissioner or Magistrate may order an African out of an urban area if it is proved to his satisfaction that the African has failed to observe the regulations. According to the Explanatory Memorandum this "does away with the need of resorting to costly civil process". The Native Commissioner or Magistrate will act, not in a judicial, but in an administrative capacity, and the proceedings will, therefore, no longer be subject to appeal as in the case of ordinary civil proceedings.

The amended version of the "church clause" was described by the Action Committee of the Christian Council of South Africa as "more objectionable" than the original draft. The Committee said: "We shall be forced to disregard the law and to stand wholeheartedly by the members of our churches who are affected by it."

The Transvaal Moslem Council has also protested against the Bill. Its President, Mr. H. E. Joosub, said that there were about 2,500 African Moslems living in South Africa. If the Bill became law African Moslems would be affected in two ways. Permission would have to be sought for them to attend mosques built since 1938, and African Moslem children attending religious schools for the purpose of learning the Koran would have to get special permission to continue doing so. He said Moslems believe they should stand shoulder to shoulder while worshipping whatever their race. (*Pretoria News*, April 1, 1957.)

The Johannesburg City Council called on the Minister to amend the Bill.

The Roman Catholic Bishops issued a statement reaffirming their opposition to the Bill. It said that despite modifications the State was still claiming the right to regulate the worship and religious practice of the individual. "We also maintain that people of different racial groups have the right to associate freely. That right can only be restricted, in justice, where it is abused for the purpose of activities injurious to the public good order." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 23, 1957.)

The Bishop of Johannesburg speaking at the City Hall said that if there was a conflict between the Government and the churches over the implementation of the Native Laws Amendment Bill, "the whole might of the Anglican Communion throughout the world will be solidly ranged behind us. If the Government wants open conflict with the Church it can have it. We know the whole power of the State would be ranged against us, but we are not dismayed. We realize that the consequences of our action (in advising the clergy and people to disobey the Government's directives under the church clause) may be grave. But if those who make threats think for one moment that they will prevent us from following the dictates of our consciences, they are gravely mistaken. Such mean reprisals, if carried out, will only make us more resolute." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 27, 1957.)

Opposition has also been voiced by leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church. A deputation from their Federal Council called on Dr. Verwoerd, to discuss the "church clause", and subsequently stated that the Minister had convinced the Council that no violence would be done to the autonomy of the churches in their own sphere. Consequently they were satisfied with the Bill. But during debates in the Transvaal Synod Dr. Ben Marais, Professor of Theology at Pretoria University, said that no theologian of the Reformed Church would say that anyone could not enter the House of God if he was also a

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

believer. He said: "I agree with separate churches, but are we to drive the division so far that it also excludes Communion in Christ."

The Synod approved the eight-point statement which said: "When the State lays down provisions which limit attendance at services or *bona fide* religious gatherings arranged by the Church, it affects freedom of religion and the sovereignty of the Church. Therefore it is to the benefit of the Church and State that each strictly should confine itself to the task which through the word of God is entrusted to it, and the Church is called upon to warn the State of the possible obstruction of the execution of the task of the Church." The document expressed regret that the Dutch Reformed Church and other Christian churches did not at first devote the necessary attention to all the implications of the original Act, which already, in principle, imposed limitations on specific church gatherings. The Church acknowledged that the State was called upon to act against the propagation of sedition under the cloak of religion, but nevertheless the Federal Council felt that so far as this legislation was concerned, it could not agree with the width of the impact of the proposed provisions.

Only a part of the eight-point statement was published immediately after the interview with Dr. Verwoerd. When the full text was released later, it was reported that Dr. Verwoerd had suggested certain amendments which the Dutch Reformed Church had accepted. After the deputation had put its case to the Minister, he told them the Opposition were trying to achieve a break-through in the policy of *apartheid*. The English churches had reacted so quickly because they were aware that he discriminated in favour of churches whose policy and actions made it possible for the Government to carry out the *apartheid* policy.

Dr. Verwoerd argued that if the statement of principles were published in the form drawn up by the federal councils the English churches would immediately assume that Afrikaans Protestants, English Protestants and Roman Catholics stood together. Because the Afrikaner churches had never attacked or fought the Government in public, the Opposition would drag the Dutch Reformed Church into their fight against the Government. The result for "us" could hardly be exaggerated. The deputation agreed to recommend to the leaders of their church that the church clause, with certain amendments proposed by the Minister, should be accepted.

Dr. A. J. van der Merwe, Moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape, said that the eight points of principle drawn up by the church representatives were not binding on the churches, but were drafted as points to form a basis of discussion with the Minister of Native Affairs. (*The Times*, May 2, 1957.)

Dr. Verwoerd said the Bill did not attempt to encroach on the freedom of worship, but sought only to ensure that the worship, order and rest of Europeans in their areas were not disturbed by the nuisance caused by Natives under the cloak of worship. Speaking in the House of Assembly the Minister said that the amendment now proposed achieved the same object as the original clause and was in no way an admission that he had sought wider control.

He was surprised that the Roman Catholic Church had not only entered this struggle but was regarded as a comrade in it. The Roman Catholic Church had said that it could not accept that there had to be permission from the State to carry on the work of teaching the Gospel. But it was well known that in certain strongholds of the Roman Catholic Church members of the Protestant Church had to receive permission from the Roman Catholic authorities to conduct their services. What right, therefore, had the Roman Catholic Church to interfere in the present dispute? Dr. Verwoerd said: "I think that church leaders—they who have had so much from the

State, and who talked so of rebellion—should ask themselves with shame whether they were justified in making this demonstration of resistance to the State." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 22, 1957.)

In the course of the debate on the second reading of the Bill, Mr. H. S. Erasmus (Nationalist) said all the trouble about the Bill was caused by imported English ministers of religion who were liberalistic in their outlook. They were the evil spirits in this country. If legislation were introduced to prevent their being imported, there would be peace. The Bill was squarely in line with Nationalist policy of separate areas for White and Black. Natives did not have rights in White areas; they only had privileges and the Bill was merely restricting a privilege.

Concluding the debate, Dr. Verwoerd said it was made clear in the Bill that local authorities were not entitled to have a Native policy which conflicted with that of the Government. He said that where references were made to God the Father, the Brotherhood of Man, and unity in Christ, it was intended to be accepted in a spiritual sense. "This spiritual significance has nothing to do with being together in the same building and does not mean that you can have unity in Christ by praying together." (*Star*, April 5, 1957.)

A meeting of the National Committee of the Liberal Party of South Africa in Johannesburg passed a resolution condemning the Native Laws Amendment Bill. It read: "It is the view of the Liberal Party that inter-racial association is a cardinal principle of a democratic multi-racial society and is fundamental to the operation of the Liberal Party. The party, therefore, states its complete opposition to the Bill. The party recognizes that there are members of the party who, on grounds of conscience, will be unable to obey this law."

On the possible banning of African National Congress the flag resolution was passed: "This meeting has noted with the gravest concern indications that the Government may ban the African National Congress. The party considers that such an action will drive many of the African people into a position where revolution will appear to them to be the only way of achieving social and political change." (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 29, 1957.)

### Threat to Welfare Organizations

Welfare organizations are gravely concerned by Dr. Verwoerd's statement that, while he approved of welfare work for Africans, he disapproved of multi-racial organizations. He said the association of Whites and Africans in such work should be that of guardian and ward and Africans should also have their own organizations. He mentioned the Red Cross as an example of an organization which should be organized on the basis of racial separation.

The Red Cross National Secretary, Colonel J. A. de Vos, said that the main objects of the Society were to prevent suffering and give relief.

"The realistic view is that the people most in need of guidance are the Natives, but there are not at present enough Natives of the required standard of education and proficiency to undertake these responsibilities.

"It is therefore mainly the task of the Europeans to provide the necessary instructions. Equipment and other facilities are housed in premises outside the locations. As a result the Natives must come into the urban areas to receive their instruction.

"It is a condition of International Red Cross that only one national Red Cross Society can be recognized in an independent state.

"Such a society must be independent of the government of that state, must be a voluntary organization, but must be recognized and encouraged by its country's government. The Union Government is a party to the Geneva Conventions and the South African Red Cross

Society has no reason to believe that the Government will not honour its obligations in this respect." (*Star*, May 3, 1957.)

The *Pretoria News* (May 2, 1957) reported that many welfare organizations had been thrown into deep consternation by Dr. Verwoerd's threat to impose social *apartheid* on multi-racial organizations. Amongst organizations similarly placed to the Red Cross were the St. John Ambulance Association, the Child Life Protection Society, the National Council for the Blind, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the South African National Tuberculosis Association, and St. Dunstons.

### Archbishop of Cape Town Appointed

The Rt. Rev. Joost de Blank, Bishop of Stepney, has been appointed Archbishop of Cape Town. Speaking in London, he said he would be opposed to compulsory segregation in churches. Recent more liberal statements in South Africa had led him to believe that there might be a change of heart on the whole question and a less intransigent attitude. "But," he added, "it would be presumptuous of me to say from this distance what the Church should do. The lead given by the Anglican Church in South Africa agrees with the fundamental Christian beliefs in this country, including my own, and I do not think that will be changed." (*Daily Telegraph*, May 11, 1957.)

### Increase in Native General Tax<sup>1</sup>

The Minister of Finance, Mr. T. F. Naude, has announced proposals for increasing Native taxes. A sliding scale of taxation should be substituted for the flat poll tax of £1. The proposed new taxes are:—

Income	Tax on Men	Tax on Women
Up to £180 a year .. ..	£1 10s.	Nil
£180-£240 .. ..	£1 15s.	£1
£240-£300 .. ..	£2 10s.	£2
£300-£360 .. ..	£3 5s.	£3
£360-£420 .. ..	£4 0s.	£4

£420 upwards, £1 for every completed amount of £60 or part thereof for both men and women.

Mr. Naude said the new taxes would be levied and collected from January 1, 1958, "subject to the provisions of an Act to be passed during the present session of Parliament and to such definitions, limitations and exemptions as may be provided therein".

The *Star* (April 2, 1957) said the announcement that Native taxes are to be increased from £1 to £1 10s. for those earning up to £180 a year means that the Government are to increase the taxes of a group which is considered to be in the sub-economic category according to Government regulation.

The great majority of Natives in commerce, industry, municipal services and State undertakings earn less than £15 a month, compared with the £23 10s. which has been authoritatively estimated as the minimum essential expenditure. The *Pretoria News* (April 2, 1957) said that in justifying the increase in Parliament the Minister would almost certainly compare the new taxation scales with those of adjoining territories such as Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, and Southern Rhodesia. Natives in the Union at present pay less direct taxation than their neighbours in these areas and it may be that the Government feels that the time has come to introduce a greater degree of uniformity.

"But, of course, this alone will not by any means constitute justification. For one thing conditions in the industrialized and commercialized areas of the Union are basically dissimilar to those existing in the above-mentioned territories where a big majority of Natives

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

still live much more uncomplicated lives. They have in their tribalized state cheap homes and food and few transportation costs.

"It must also not be lost sight of that although the present direct taxation paid by our Native people is comparatively modest, it nevertheless represents a substantial proportion of very modest annual incomes every penny of which is desperately required for mere subsistence."

### Increased Wages for Non-Europeans

An increase of 6s. a week to all non-European daily-paid workers of the Johannesburg City Council (excluding building workers paid in terms of the Native Building Workers Act) is to be considered. The proposed date of the increase is July 1, as no provision for an increase had been made in the current estimates.

The Government has so far made no move towards a general revision of Native wages despite growing warnings that the Natives are not getting enough to live on and that their poverty is an economic and social danger to everybody.

The Minister of Labour, Mr. de Klerk, has told the Senate: "I am prepared to consider any request for a wage investigation." He has not, however, ordered a wage investigation in the unskilled occupations in which the majority of Natives work. This is partly because Mr. de Klerk and the Cabinet are committed to the opinion that Native wages have increased—I quote Mr. Schoeman—"by 200 per cent in the past 15 years". (*Star*, April, 1957.)

### African Cost of Living and Diet

Evidence is accumulating steadily that the economic position of the non-European population in urban centres<sup>1</sup> is deteriorating and that an excellent case exists for the immediate appointment of at least an official fact-finding commission of inquiry. This action was urged by two speakers, Mr. J. P. Cope, M.P., in the Assembly, and Mr. D. H. G. Mosenthal, President of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.

The *Pretoria News* (March 29, 1957) said: "It is clearly morally wrong for any prosperous country to continue to neglect a section of their people whose income is manifestly insufficient to provide them with many of the basic necessities of life. . . . The initiative to improve conditions in our Native townships today rests with the Government. They should not hesitate to use it."

Prof. Theodore Gillman of the University of Natal in a broadcast talk said: "Starvation kills but chronic malnutrition insidiously erodes the health of the people and this is, perhaps, the most significant single factor directly and indirectly retarding African progress. . . . Post-mortem examinations on apparently healthy Africans killed in accidents almost invariably reveal widespread bodily damage, due directly or indirectly to the consumption of a grossly unsatisfactory diet. . . . The average life expectancy of the African in the Union is estimated as 36 years: that among the European population is the same as in Britain, about 70. . . . Apart from the inadequate home environment and poor school facilities, the mental sluggishness, which the African often does seem to manifest, may be expected purely on nutritional grounds. . . ."

### Bus Boycott<sup>2</sup>

After nearly three months the boycott of buses by Africans in the Johannesburg and Pretoria districts has ended. The Chamber of Commerce coupon scheme was implemented, enabling passengers to travel at the old rate of 4d.

The decision to put buses back on the boycott routes was made

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

<sup>2</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

after meetings in Alexandria Township had decided that the coupon scheme proposed at the end of February should be accepted. A formal approach was made to representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and to the bus company and discussions held on the way in which the scheme could be implemented.

The *Star* (April 2, 1957) in an editorial comment said: "It must not be supposed that the settlement in its existing form is the final one. The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, which almost alone throughout this affair has kept its head when others were losing theirs, has made a temporary solution possible by subsidizing fares out of a special fund of its own creation. This fund cannot last indefinitely. It has put the buses back on the road and it can keep them there for a few months only."

The African National Congress, in a pamphlet calling on Africans to use the buses, said: "The agreement will last three months and will open the door to a more permanent, lasting settlement. . . . We must win higher wages."

### University Apartheid<sup>1</sup>

An amended university *apartheid* Bill has been introduced by the Minister of Education. Mr. Viljoen said the only reason for the amendment to the Bill was the fact that the sections dealing with the Medical School and Fort Hare College made the original Bill a hybrid one, which meant delay. *Apartheid* at universities was Government policy, and it was a matter that had to be tackled in terms of future planning. If planning for future non-White university training was not begun now, it would be impossible to tackle it later. (*The Times*, April 10, 1957.)

The new Bill removes the liability of universities to prosecution if they register non-White students in the face of a ban by the Government. Instead, only the student is liable to prosecution. The Bill empowers the Government to impose a complete or partial prohibition on the entry of Non-European students to any university or faculty of a university. This envisages the application of *apartheid* in two stages, the first comprising ministerial control of admission, and the second gradually increasing prohibition on such admissions.

The Bill gives the Government power to establish and to conduct university colleges for non-Europeans under ministerially appointed councils, senates and principals, with staff employed by the Government and all activities strictly controlled by the Government. (*Star*, April 10, 1957.)

Mr. J. G. Strijdom, speaking at the University of Pretoria, said that South Africa could not allow universities to spread doctrines perilous to the life or future of the White race. "It is the duty of the State to guard over the nation in this connexion and to act as it would in the case of war to protect the safety of the nation."

The Prime Minister added that while universities should be free and independent institutions "which should not be subjected to the day-to-day whims of successive governments", they could only be so "subject to certain most important conditions".

"While we cannot tie our universities down in their search for truth, in their research and in developing the faculties of the students to think independently and to attain knowledge, no Christian nation can, for instance, allow State-supported institutions and institutions created by the State to undermine the Christian foundations of the State," added Mr. Strijdom. "The nation cannot allow such institutions to spread doctrines that are perilous to the life or fortune of the White race." (*Star*, April 6, 1957.)

A statement signed by twenty-two Vice-Chancellors and Principals of British universities said: "There exists between the uni-

versities in Commonwealth countries a close association based on a wide community of principle, tradition, and practice. University opinion in this country is therefore necessarily and properly concerned about the course of action which the present Government of the Union of South Africa is proposing." (*The Times*, April 16, 1957.)

The National Union of South African Students has received messages of support for their campaign against the Bill from the National Federation of Canadian University Students and the Students' Representative Council of the University of Tasmania. Protests have been made to the South African Ambassador in Washington and the Minister of Education in Cape Town by the Students' Association of the University of Washington. National unions of students of most Western countries decided at the International Student Conference in Ceylon that they would take action to indicate their opposition to university *apartheid*.

A leading article in the *Lancet* said: "Those in positions of influence in the medical profession in South Africa will, we hope, realize how much they stand to gain in the esteem of their colleagues all over the world if they speak out boldly against this attack on the freedom of the university doctor."

A letter signed by fourteen members of the staff of Fort Hare University College for non-Europeans and published in the *Manchester Guardian* (March 27, 1957) said the Government had neither consulted nor informed them about the intended changes in the administration of the University College.

### Nursing Apartheid<sup>1</sup>

Under the recently published Nursing Bill, provision is made for the Nursing Council, which governs the profession, to become an all-White body which will be supported by separate advisory boards for Coloured people, including Indians and Africans. The Bill prescribes a maximum fine of £200 for allowing a White nurse to work under a non-White person in any hospital or similar institution or training school. This Bill has caused a stir in world nursing circles and may be discussed at the annual conference in May of the International Council of Nurses at Rome.

The non-European group in the Johannesburg branch of the South African Nursing Association has stated that application of *apartheid* in the nursing profession would force members to contravene the international code of nursing ethics. The group demanded that racial discrimination in nursing be made an offence. (*The Times*, April 18 and 23, 1957.)

About 80 per cent of the active members of the Nursing Association in Johannesburg are against the "race clauses" in the Nursing Bill. The chairman of the branch said that "it was a retrograde step which is bound to lower the standard of the nursing profession among non-Europeans". (*The Star*, April 18, 1957.)

The Nursing Association, in its evidence before the Select Committee on the Nursing Bill, gave as one of its reasons for opposing separate associations for Whites and non-Whites the fact that if non-Whites were excluded from membership, the Association's membership of the International Nursing Council would be endangered. One of the Association's representatives, Miss G. Borchards, said that one of the stipulations of membership of the International Nursing Council was that membership must be open to all races. Once that was done away with, membership would be cancelled. It was in the interests of nursing and of the general public that there should be groups within one association where the lesser privileged could be guided by the Whites. (*Pretoria News*, April 27, 1957.)

<sup>1</sup>Digest IV, 4 and 5.

<sup>1</sup>Digest IV, 5.

## Declaration by the Institute of Race Relations

A declaration by the National Executive Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations said: "We are convinced that the policies at present being pursued by the Government of South Africa are destroying any advance made towards these goals (of inter-racial co-operation and the development of common loyalties) and are doing untold damage to our common future. We believe that these policies will fail, because they are a negation of right principle. We believe they will defeat themselves because they conflict with our economic structure and jeopardize future economic development. They will fail, too, because they are inducing amongst Europeans a widespread unease and distrust in the future of South Africa, and are giving rise amongst non-Europeans to a mounting tide of resentment of authority and of the white man who exercises that authority."

Referring to the Native Laws Amendment Bill and the Separate University Education Bill the Committee said: "These Bills, taken together with the directives being issued to welfare organizations, aim at undermining all voluntary European association with Africans and canalizing all contact through public servants alone. Should this happen and should the tide of resentment, now running, continue, then we believe most sincerely that the outcome will be tragic for all in our country. With means of voluntary communication increasingly restricted, the racial groups may become sealed off into entirely separate and hostile camps."

The forty-six signatories include Senior Lecturers of Natal, Witwatersrand, Cape Town and Rhodes Universities; Mr. W. Aronsohn, a prominent Johannesburg attorney; Mr. Patrick Duncan, Secretary of the South African Liberal Party; Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, well-known African author; the Rev. Dr. H. P. Junod, National Organizer, Penal Reform League of South Africa; Mr. A. D. Lazarus, Principal of Sastri College, Durban, and President of the Natal Indian Teachers' Association; Commissioner H. Lord, C.B.E., of the Salvation Army; the Rt. Rev. Wilfred Parker, formerly Bishop of Pretoria; the Rev. H. C. Samuels, Minister of the Ebenezer Coloured Congregational Church, and Dr. O. D. Wollheim, Warden of the Cape Flats Distress Association.

## Sport and the Colour Bar

Sporting history was created when five players left South Africa to take part in the World Table Tennis Championships at Stockholm, as the team becomes the first world-recognized non-White team of Springboks to take part in international games. The players were chosen by the South African Table Tennis Board, which, unlike the South African Table Tennis Union, does not practise racial or colour discrimination and is the only sporting body in the Union open to all which has international recognition.

Racialism has again won the toss in cricket. . . . At a meeting of the Cricket Board of Control in Johannesburg it was decided to stage the Federation tournament in Cape Town early next year and it will go on, as before, on racial lines, with the national, Indian, African, Coloured and Malay teams taking part. (*Golden City Post*, March 3 and 17, 1957.)

The suggestion of Mr. A. Sanders, Vice-President of the South African Athletic and Cycling Association, that Springbok colours should be awarded to non-White cyclists, is gaining support. There is a feeling that unless South Africa can prove that there is no discrimination in cycling they will face banning at the 1957 World Championship in Denmark. (*Sunday Express*, March 3, 1957.)

The Federation of International Football Associations last year called upon the White South African Football Association and the South African Soccer Federation to reconcile their differences. The

Soccer Federation has received a letter from the White South African Football Association saying that the question of "fusion" between the two associations to control soccer irrespective of race or colour could not be considered, the reason being that the laws of the country did not allow it. The letter also said that the colour bar clause of the South African Football Association was removed from the constitution at a special meeting on March 3, 1956, but that while the Association is open to all, it will not do or allow anything to be done that is contrary to the laws of the country. Finally the letter said that it has never interfered with non-White organizations, but has assisted wherever possible.

The *Golden City Post* commented: "From the letter it appears that the South African Football Association does not know what it wrote about. There are definitely no laws in the country which debar non-Whites and Whites from having one association in football. As a fact this question was raised when the F.I.F.A. Commission came here last year and the White group could not show the Commission the law."

"After the Lisbon Conference last year, the Association, through some individuals, approached the Johannesburg Bantu and the Johannesburg Africans and asked them to affiliate. They were promised grounds, coaches, referees, but they were told that they had to get White delegates to the provincial associations. The non-White associations refused the offers."

## The Arts and the Colour Bar<sup>1</sup>

The following instruction to members of the British Actors' Union appeared in the *Equity Letter* (February 1957): "That no member shall, after 31st March, 1957, enter into any contract under which he or she will be obliged to work in any theatre in which any form of colour bar operates unless there is a clause in the contract to ensure that a definite proportion, to be decided by Equity, of the performances given under the contract shall be open to all non-Europeans or if possible to persons of any colour, race or creed." Equity commented: "It cannot be too strongly emphasized that we do not seek to interfere in the internal political affairs of South Africa nor to express any view about the policy of the South African Government. The resolution of the Annual General Meeting and the present instruction of the Council to the membership is an assertion of our members' right as artists to insist that their performances shall be given to every section of the population in any country which they visit. Art is universal and cannot be barred by colour, race or creed."

Reaction has been sharp in South African theatrical circles. Margaret Inglis, a South African player, and John Langford, Secretary of the Actor-Managers' Association, saw the main hurdle as economic. They said: "The actors are sympathetic, but their sympathy must not cost them their livelihood."

The *Star* (March 6, 1957) said that after pondering for nearly a year as to whether to allow, discourage or forbid mixed racial audiences at entertainments the Nationalists have decided to leave this thorny matter alone. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dönges, said in the Assembly: "No steps are being contemplated at present." By washing his hands of the subject Dr. Dönges has left with the promoters of sports and entertainments the responsibility for reconciling their traditional colour bar with the new anti-colour bar requirements of Equity and of the Musicians' Association. . . . Unless British talent is to be driven off the South African stage, promoters who employ British players will either have to arrange special performances for different races, or relax the colour bar in places of entertainment.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 4.

Yale University Jazz Band has been refused a permit to enter South Africa despite their prominent support in the United States. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was one of the patrons of the fund launched to fly them to the Union. (*Star*, March 11, 1957.)

### Freedom of the Press<sup>1</sup>

The South African Society of Journalists at their Annual Congress passed a resolution strenuously upholding the principle of the freedom of the Press. They recommended that their Council should approach the Minister of Justice for an undertaking that no reporter or photographer would be interfered with or detained without a charge being preferred against him. The Minister of Justice should also be asked to define the freedom of the Press. (*Pretoria News*, April 1, 1957.)

### Land Allocation

Mr. W. A. Maree, M.P. (Nationalist), speaking in the House of Assembly gave details of unsurveyed Crown land available for settlement which, he said, totalled 407,800 morgen. Of this, he said, 240,000 morgen would be needed to make up the Native Trust quota, leaving about 168,000 morgen for European settlement. Mr. Maree said that it was a crime against South Africa for any person or party to create opposition among the Europeans against the allocation of land to the Native Trust promised by the 1936 legislation. If clarity could be obtained on which areas would be available for European settlement, the Natives at present living in those areas could be removed as speedily as possible to facilitate future development.

Mr. R. A. F. Swart (United Party) said that his Party would honour the 1936 Act. He proposed that the provisions of the Native Trust and Land Act in regard to the acquisition of land for Native settlement in Natal should be implemented in full as soon as possible and adequate steps should be taken to ensure that this land should be placed under proper supervision and control to prevent deterioration of the soil.

The Minister of Lands, Mr. P. O. Sauer, said everybody would agree that where land was given to Natives, the best use should be made of that land, otherwise the aim of the 1936 Act, which was to give the Natives enough land to provide them with their food and other needs, would not be achieved. (*Pretoria News*, April 6, 1957.)

### No "Group Area" for Chinese

The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges, told the House of Assembly that a Group Area for members of the Chinese community in Johannesburg was still under consideration. In the meantime, the Natives Resettlement Board had ordered seventy Chinese families to vacate their homes in Sophiatown. Alternative temporary accommodation was being offered.

Mr. R. Ah Hung, a shopkeeper, told the *Rand Daily Mail* (April 18, 1957) that the house offered him was unfit to live in. His family consisted of a wife and five children. Mr. Hoy Ick, another shopkeeper, said that it was impossible for him to obey the order to leave. He said: "I cannot risk taking my family to live in the home offered me by the Board. It is dirty and has no light or water." The houses offered to the Chinese families have been described as "slums" by a Councillor who inspected them.

Mr. Wellington Ford, Secretary of the Transvaal Chinese Association, said that the families who had refused to move were not deliberately obstructing the Board's scheme but simply had no alternative accommodation. They had been refused permits to trade elsewhere. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 23, 1957.)

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

### Convict Labour System Condemned

Cheap Native convict farm labour was condemned by the National Council of Women at its conference.

A resolution was passed pointing out that all systems of hiring out Native convicts into the unsupervised and indiscriminated control of private individuals was "totally at variance with the practices of a civilized state and should be abolished".

### Co-operation with Nationalism

Professor L. J. du Plessis, a prominent and independent-minded Nationalist supporter, discussing what he called White and Black nationalism, said Black nationalism could not be stopped, neither could it be bought off by material or cultural concessions. The aim of nationalism could only be robbed of its deadly sting if the Europeans co-operated with it before it was too late.

South Africa so far had been negative towards Black nationalism, and although that attitude was comprehensible and justifiable, it was futile and indefensible. South Africa should be positive and sympathetic towards it by making of it an ally. Boer, Englishman and Bantu should conclude an alliance in the spirit of South Africa first and in friendship give each other the hand. Up till now it had not happened, and could not happen, because *apartheid* as it had developed and been applied did not open the door to the Bantu to a future of national independence in the Western orbit. That was the one thing non-Europeans desired from the Europeans. If the door was not opened, the Europeans could make of the non-Europeans their enemies for ever, while nationalism would not be stopped, because the entire world was in favour of it.

Professor du Plessis pleaded with the Europeans not to call the so-called agitators Communists. He said the non-European nationalists and not the tribal chiefs were the real national leaders. The agitators were not all Communists and the tribal chiefs were, to a certain degree, the hirelings of the Government.

He did not plead for the full liberation of the Bantu, but for a racial policy directed towards the national liberation of the non-Europeans in collaboration with the Europeans as soon as possible.

The first step should be consultation with the real national leaders of the non-Europeans to determine the common way to be taken which would lead as soon as possible to the ultimate goal.

Finally, Professor du Plessis pleaded with the Europeans not to be forced out like the Britishers and Hollanders from India and Indonesia, but to follow the example of the Americans, who forced the Philippines' independence, with the result that the people now look to America as architect and patron of their national freedom. (*South Africa*, May 4, 1957.)

### Dr. Wassenaar Expelled from Party

Dr. Theo Wassenaar,<sup>1</sup> former leader of the Nationalists in the Transvaal Provincial Council, has been expelled from the Nationalist Party by a unanimous decision taken at a meeting of the Divisional Committee in his constituency.

A statement issued by the Secretary of the Committee said: "Dr. Wassenaar sought the company of the hostile Press, which has always tried to divide the Afrikaners and to put the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections under the same yoke. He made statements calculated to bring the integrity and good faith of our worthy Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, and other leading Nationalists and our beloved party into disrepute. . . ."

*The Economist* (March 16, 1957) commented: "While it is impossible at this stage to gauge the extent of the Nationalist rank-and-

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

file's sympathy for Dr. Wassenaar's stand, there is no doubt that the repercussions of his decision will continue to be felt. Yet while the Nationalist party will suffer as a result, South Africans who appreciate the vital necessity of finding a formula for peaceful co-existence between White and non-White will derive little real comfort from it. Shorn of its trappings, Dr. Wassenaar's philosophy comes down to this: the Whites must by hook or by crook get together and stay together in order to present a united front to the non-Whites. And if Dr. Wassenaar has any say, the handling of the non-Whites under the new dispensation will be pretty harsh and uncompromising. No 'shared society' for him, or partnership: he believes in *apartheid*, and no nonsense. Dr. Wassenaar's resignation will encourage the United Party's tendency to shift gradually to the Right and to try, consciously if unobtrusively, to find common ground with moderate Nationalists."

Dr. Wassenaar has announced that he will form a new political party. Included in the programme of principles would be measures aimed at European unity, and better relations with non-Europeans, on a course which would steer between the extremism of the Nationalist Party and the unrestricted liberalism of other parties. The new party could not agree to the establishment of independent Bantu States which would throw a hostile ring half-way round European South Africa, and represent a permanent menace to the peace and welfare of the White areas. (*South Africa*, May 11, 1957.)

### National Anthem Changed

"Die Stem Van Suid Afrika" has become the only official national anthem of South Africa to the exclusion of "God Save the Queen". The Prime Minister made a declaration to this effect in the House of Assembly. On state occasions at which the Governor-General was present "Die Stem" would be played, and if the Queen visited South Africa it would be played in her honour as Queen of South Africa.

### Rise in Crime During 1955

Acts of violence were responsible for the loss of 3,639 lives in the Union during 1955. Contraventions or alleged contraventions of laws numbered 2,022,480—an increase of 111,739 over those of the previous year. No fewer than 1,649,893 people were prosecuted and 1,471,329 convicted—a respective increase of 80,901 and 73,380. A total of 358 people were convicted of murder.

Other facts disclosed in the annual report of the Commissioner of Police for 1955 are: Serious crime increased by 10,526 cases; a total of 193,986 crimes of a serious nature were reported, constituting 9.59 per cent of the total for all offences. People prosecuted numbered 114,240 resulting in the conviction of 11,392 Europeans and 65,440 non-Europeans.

During the year the police investigated 2,862 murder cases, including 376 reported in previous years, an increase of 223. In 40 of the cases sent to trial both the accused and the deceased were Europeans. In 23 cases the accused were non-Europeans and the deceased Europeans, while in 24 cases the accused were Europeans and victims non-Europeans. In the remaining 1,580 cases only non-Europeans were concerned.

In 1955, 564 deaths were caused in murder and culpable homicide cases, as compared with 159 ten years earlier. (*South Africa*, April 6, 1957.)

### Denial by American Missionary<sup>1</sup>

Dr. G. W. Carpenter, the American missionary who was refused

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

an entry visa to South Africa, denied, in a letter to the *Star* (March 8, 1957), that he had said that mineworkers on the Witwatersrand "work like nineteenth-century slave workers". Referring to the occasion in Toronto, two years ago, when this statement was alleged to have been made, he said: "The subject under discussion was not the conditions of work in the mines but the destructive social and moral consequences of large-scale migratory labour throughout large parts of Southern Africa."

### Unlawful Detention of American Citizen<sup>1</sup>

The Rand Supreme Court ordered the release from prison of Mrs. Mary-Louise Hooper, an American subject. Mrs. Hooper (*née* Fitkin) was granted a writ of *habeas corpus* after she alleged that she had been arrested and told that she would be detained in custody pending her deportation from the Union. Mr. Justice Dowling decided that Mrs. Hooper was not being lawfully detained. (*Manchester Guardian*, March 16, 1957.)

### Relations with Africa's Independent States

The Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, said that the great question hanging over Africa was whether it would be integrated with the West or dominated by the East. South Africa could form the permanent link with the Western nations. Referring to Ghana, Mr. Louw said that had it achieved independence ten years ago the event would have raised comparatively little interest. This interest was not confined to the United States. India and Soviet Russia also showed particular interest in the celebrations. "Africa with its population of more than 150 million indigenous people is fertile soil for the seeds of Communism."

Mr. Louw said he gained the impression during his recent visit to America that there was a growing realization of the role which the Union could play in Africa south of the Sahara. "The struggle between Communism and the Western nations for the minds of men will undoubtedly take place in Africa—as also would a possible conflict in the future between East and West." The purpose of the Communists was to advance their own ideology and Communist imperialism. The aim of India was to obtain a dumping ground for its millions of surplus population. "South Africa must play its full part as an African power. We will not only have to co-operate with the European states which have interests and responsibilities in Africa, but we shall have to be prepared to co-operate in matters of common concern with all other states which have been established, in Africa South of the Sahara."

The Union's ability to achieve this would depend upon the removal of suspicion in Africa about her colour policy: the acceptance by other African States of the Union as an African State, and the Union's willingness to make an important contribution in dealing with common problems.

"Our policy must be such that the Union will be accepted by the other States and territories of Africa as their link with the Western countries."

If the Union wished to be recognized as a link by both the Western and the African States, however, it would be necessary to safeguard its White and Western identity. (*Star*, March 30, 1957.)

The news-sheet published by South Africa House in London in an article entitled "Ghana, Good Luck!" reported a broadcast over Ghana radio by Mr. Robert Jones, High Commissioner Extraordinary. The independence of Ghana, he said, was the culmination

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

of a notable chapter in the history of the country and it was his privilege to convey the congratulations of the Union Government and the people of the Union on this great achievement. As nations of Africa, Ghana and the Union shared great interests. It was the endeavour of both countries to develop civilization and to safeguard the peace and stability of the continent. (*Modern South Africa*, March 1957.)

### Changes in European Population

Last year 12,051 South African citizens and British subjects left the Union, and in the year before the total was 11,836. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges, said in the House of Assembly that there were no particulars available to show how many were Afrikaans-speaking and how many were English-speaking. In 1955, 16,013 immigrants entered the country and last year 14,919 entered.

Last year Britain led with 4,566; Holland followed with 1,838; then Italy with 1,760; Germany, 1,664; Rhodesia, 1,448; Portugal, 1,076; other British subjects, 428; Greece, 360; and Belgium, 249. (*South Africa*, April 27, 1957.)

### Treason Inquiry Continued<sup>1</sup>

Meetings, at which the 156 people now before the court on charges of treason are alleged to have advocated "the overthrow of the existing State by revolutionary methods involving violence", are being examined at the Treason Inquiry.

*New Age* (March 7, 1957) commented: "With about 600 meetings to be dealt with, to complete only the second phase of the trial—the first was the 'document' phase—the Crown is averaging about six meetings a day. One's imagination boggles at the probable length of the whole proceedings if the present speed is maintained. . . . As week creeps after week, the accused remain separated from their homes and their jobs, their lives irreparably disrupted."

An African detective reading from notes taken at a meeting in Sophiatown in October 1954 said that one of the accused had said Native children should boycott the schools as a protest against "Bantu Education". Another had said an economic boycott of South African industries would be a turning-point in the country, and added: "Let me warn the Dutch; their guns will fail as they have in other countries. If the Government is determined to use guns rather than to reason we are ready to meet them." A detective said Father Trevor Huddleston had addressed an African National Congress meeting at Sophiatown on November 7, 1954. He said the Western Areas Removal Scheme was an "act of tyranny by Dr. Verwoerd. If we allow him to be successful he will go farther to other locations and nobody will be secure. It will be your duty to stand on principle and fight. It is clear to this country and the whole world that you stand for that principle—justice."

Another detective told the court he attended a meeting of the African National Congress in January 1955. He did not make notes at the meeting, but two hours after it ended he wrote down what he remembered of the speeches. To test his memory Mr. V. C. Berrange (for the defence) read out a speech of 1,000 words. The constable was able to remember and write down less than 50 words.

A third said he attended an A.N.C. meeting held in Moroka. One of the speakers was Robert Rasha, who said: "We have shown the White men that we are good people. We have gone underground to dig gold, but the pay is phthisis; we have gone to farms, but the pay is tuberculosis; we have built houses in town, and the pay is the

Moroka shelters." Questioned by Mr. J. Slavo (for the defence), the detective said at all meetings of the A.N.C. he attended there were appeals for non-violence. The speakers also said they wanted to live with the Europeans in a spirit of racial co-operation. (*Star*, March 8, 12 and 14, 1957.)

Mrs. Helen Joseph, one of the accused, has been banned under the Suppression of Communism Act from attending any gathering in the Union or in South-West Africa, and under the Riotous Assemblies Act from leaving the Johannesburg magisterial area. (*Times*, April 25, 1957.)

Reviewing the progress of the trial, the *Star* (May 9, 1957) said: "Present estimates are that it is likely to be another four months before the Drill Hall preparatory examination ends. And even that will only mean—assuming the case is to go to the Supreme Court for trial—that proceedings have reached the midway mark. Meanwhile the marathon inquiry sinks deeper and deeper into a morass of monotony. It is going to become, whatever its outcome, part of South Africa's history. But for the moment it is simply the 'Big Sleep'. . . . All the drama of the inquiry's early days has gone, and so has nearly all the public interest. Most days there are scarcely a dozen spectators in the public galleries. . . ."

### The Defence Funds<sup>1</sup>

Judge Lucas, in a letter to the *Star* (April 11, 1957), appealed for contributions to the Treason Trials Defence Fund of which he is a trustee. He said real hardship was being suffered by the accused and their families. "In addition, it is essential that in a trial of this sort legal assistance should be provided. Advocates too, must live, so fees must be found for them. The counsel engaged in the defence are giving their services for nominal fees. It is therefore necessary for a large sum to be raised.

"A certain amount of help is coming from overseas and it has been stated in the Press that in the United States a group headed by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt is aiming to raise 100,000 dollars (£35,000) for the fund. That sum, if raised, will be a great help, but it will represent less than half what we reckon will be required."

Dean James A. Pike of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, and John Gunther, author of *Inside Africa*, are among the sponsors of a fund in New York.

The *Sunday Express* (May 12, 1957) said: "Meanwhile, dreary though the hearing is, drearier is the economic outlook of most of the men and women in the mesh-wired dock. Many of them have no jobs now and are quite without funds. The Bishop of Johannesburg's Defence Fund is helping many of the poorer people by paying for food and rent, giving them pocket money and looking after doctors' bills. Even then, with rare exceptions, the Fund can allow them a maximum of only £11 each. . . ."

"Professional and small businessmen with a higher standard of living are particularly hard hit. Some were able to live on their capital for several months. But now it has vanished and they are as destitute as anyone else. The Bishop's Fund is now aiming at £100,000 as its target. It was previously thought that £50,000 would be enough to meet legal bills and look after those concerned, but the hearing has gone on much longer than anyone anticipated."

Contributions may be sent to Christian Action, 2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4; The Labour Party, Transport House, London, S.W.1, and The Treason Trials Defence Fund, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 4 and 5.

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 4 and 5.

# HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

## Conditions for Economic Development

PROFESSOR J. S. GALBRAITH writing in *New Commonwealth* (January 1957) said that the potentialities of the High Commission Territories can never be fully realized until two conditions are removed. The uncertainties of their future in relation to South Africa have made difficult long-range constructive planning. Even more basic, the mass of the tribal populations remain wedded to agricultural practices which waste the soil and produce miserable crop returns. Unless a revolution can be effected in tribal customs, it is unlikely that the African scale of living can be substantially improved.

In Basutoland, an agricultural, pastoral society has already passed the saturation point in the utilization of land with traditional techniques. In the economic returns wool and mohair constitute 80 per cent of the total exports. But another export without which Basutoland could not survive is its young men. Every year tens of thousands go to work in the mines and farms of the Union of South Africa. The exact number is not known, but in 1954 the Witwatersrand Native Association alone handled 33,909 from the Colony. Officials of the Basutoland administration estimate that as high as 80 per cent of the young men are employed in the Union. . . . Large-scale migratory labour makes impossible the promotion of sound agricultural practices, yet without the revenue which these men earn in the Union people could not sustain themselves.

The average landholding in Basutoland is approximately six acres, at present levels of production far below the amount necessary to maintain a family, and insufficient even with good farming practices. The economic problems of Basutoland cannot be solved without the removal of large numbers of people from the land. The country desperately needs industry to sop up its excess thousands, but it has few of the resources on which industrialization could be based. Possibly the establishment of small shoe factories, textile mills or fruit canneries might alleviate the pressures, particularly if employees could be induced to concentrate in townships and to withdraw their claims to lands. The discovery of large diamond deposits, for which there is reason to hope, would certainly be an immense boon. The construction of hydro-electric projects on the Orange River or at Ox-Bow Lake would also provide needed revenue and might contribute to industrialization, but here the co-operation of the Government of the Union is essential, and has not as yet been forthcoming. Probably the most impressive achievement in Basutoland during the past ten years has been the soil erosion control programme.

Bechuanaland, with its sparse population, presents a very different scene. Its association with the Kalahari Desert for long seemed to justify the conclusion that it was capable of development only along its eastern belt of adequate rainfall, where the bulk of the African and the small European population live. But such investigations as that conducted by the Gaitskell Mission have led to the hope that vast acreages could be opened to cattle pasturage, if adequate water from bore-holes could be provided. The potential cattle-carrying capacity of the protectorate is far greater than the present million head, but agricultural experts familiar with the territory are inclined to be cautious. . . . The best breed for the African stock-owner is probably the locally-developed Bechuana, which has great powers of

heat resistance, rather than exotic European types. About 96 per cent of the territory's cattle are African-owned.

In the promotion of the cattle industry, the Colonial Development Corporation has recently played a significant part. Some of the early projects of the Corporation were ill conceived. It rushed into a large-scale cattle ranching scheme on the Molopo River without adequate preliminary studies and the result was a failure. The first years of the Lobatsi abattoir also involved bad planning. The present operations of the Corporation in the territory are conducted with a high degree of competence. The abattoir currently processes all meat exported from the territory. . . . It is planned to construct a second abattoir in the north, where most of the cattle are pastured. The Corporation also operates ranches in the extreme north at Panda-ma-Tenga and Nata which at present maintain a total of about 9,000 head of cattle. . . . No large exploitable mineral deposits have yet been found, but geological surveys offer the hope that significant deposits of gold, copper, and coal may be present in the Bamangwato Reserve. A tribal meeting recently consented in principle to allow experts of a commercial corporation to conduct surveys. Cattle and agriculture have provided little revenue for education and other social services. The consequences of mineral exploitation to the welfare of the population can be illustrated by the Bangwaketse Reserve. A small asbestos mine, producing only about 5 tons per day, contributes about £15,000 annually to the tribal treasury—about one half of the total revenue—and provides employment for 24 Europeans and 350 Africans.

Of the three territories, Swaziland is in the strongest economic position. About half of Swaziland is owned by Europeans and it is from these areas that the economic surge has come. The largest single enterprise is the asbestos mine at Havelock, employing 2,000 Africans, about one half of whom are Swazi, and 145 Europeans. But agriculture, which has ranked after livestock as a source of wealth, has made enormous progress with the introduction of large-scale irrigation. . . . Another great industry in Swaziland is timber. At Pigg's Peak, a private enterprise with British, South African, and Danish capital began planting about eight years ago, and now has 60,000 acres under forest.

To this seeming embarrassment of riches has recently been added the discovery of good quality and apparently extensive coal and iron deposits. But unless the British Government commits itself soon to underwrite the construction of good roads and a railway, these rosy prospects may be blighted. Swaziland has no railway, and its road facilities are miserably inadequate to sustain heavy traffic. A British expert, Sir Arthur Griffin, has recommended construction of improved road facilities and a railway from near Mbabane to join the Mozambique system with an outlet at Lourenco Marques, the latter contingent on a certain minimum production of iron. Unless improved transport facilities are built soon, the attractions of incorporation into the Union will appear stronger to the White community and the present harmonious relationship between Europeans and Swazi may deteriorate.

## Basutoland

### Teacher's Demand for Educational Reform

PROPOSALS for educational reform are put forward by a Basuto teacher writing in *Mohlabani* (April 1957). "First the present policy of employing unqualified teachers in the lower primary schools ought to be discontinued. . . . The second factor is the late intro-

duction (only in Standard VI) of English as a vehicle of instruction. I personally favour the gradual replacement of Sesotho as a medium from Standard III. . . .

"The mission school system leaves much to be desired. Defects of this system are all too apparent: preferential appointments based for the most part on religious affiliation rather than merit; appointments with a view to gaining something for a particular mission, and so on. I put it as the chief weakness of this system the inability of some managers to repose confidence in their teachers, and so give them an opportunity to bring forth of their best."

The Education Department is asked to provide "regular, annual, educational inspection of all schools to determine just how far each is succeeding in achieving its purpose and, whenever any fails, to afford the inspector the opportunity of suggesting (and demonstrating) remedial measures. The need for holding regular refresher courses cannot be overemphasized. And it is here where the Basutoland African National Teachers' Association can come in useful. BANTA does a lot protecting teachers' interests but, even at the risk of being misinterpreted, I feel she is not doing as much as she should and is capable of. For me BANTA is not as professional in its outlook and its activities not as diversified and interesting as were those of its now-dead sister-associations of the pre-Verwoerd era. For instance, what is BANTA doing to plan for the future in case we are prevented—this ruling will apply to all African post-primary schools in the Union, beginning in January 1958—from doing the University J.C. which will be labelled 'EUROPEANS ONLY'? BANTA plays too subordinate a role. . . . BANTA must come out with a bold policy of leadership which could compel even bodies such as the Advisory Board on Education to look upon her as 'the body of professional advisers'."

## Bechuanaland

### Committee Established

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, speaking in the House of Commons, said that in the Baman-gwato reserve, a committee consisting of seven Africans, including both Seretse and Tshekedi Khama and two European officials, had come into being to discuss the constitution of a tribal advisory council for the Bamangwato. Good progress was being made and the Government would receive from the African Advisory Council in due course the proposals this committee wished to put forward.

### Implication of Rhodesian Citizenship Bill

A clause in the Rhodesian Citizenship Bill provides for persons to "become citizens by incorporation of territory". "We are always hoping," the Minister explained, "that other countries may accede to us, and when they do, provision is made to incorporate those inhabitants as Federal citizens." Mr. Wellington Chirwa, the African M.P., who opposes Nyasaland's inclusion in the Federation, asked: "Where are those countries?" No reply was offered him. It is understood that the country particularly envisaged is Northern Bechuanaland. Ministers say a clause of this kind is typical of citizenship acts in other parts of the Commonwealth. Despite the Union's claims to Bechuanaland, and the other Protectorates, no similar provision, however, appears to have been made anywhere in the South African Citizenship Act. (*Rhodesian Herald*, March 2, 1957.)

## Swaziland

### Views of the Paramount Chief

THE Paramount Chief, Sobhuza II, in the course of being interviewed by the Editor of *South Africa*, said that he was all in favour of the economic development going on in his country. It was helping to keep the young Swazis at home. They were no longer under the same necessity to leave their homes and look for work in South Africa. That was not to say they were not still going to the Rand in large numbers; but in Swaziland itself, the new demand for labour was such that an actual shortage was developing and some people were murmuring that recruiting for the gold mines should be stopped or at least restricted. These new development schemes were bound to be good for the country. Already they were showing that Swaziland could grow things in plenty that until now it never knew it could grow—rice, for instance.

Discussing the political future, the Paramount Chief said he had not been worried by the repeated demands made by the South African Government for transfer of the territory along with Basutoland and Bechuanaland. He said: "We here have complete trust in the assurances of the British Government that there will be no question of transfer until we have been consulted. . . . I understand consultation to mean acquiescence and there is not the slightest chance of the Swazi nation acquiescing in any such proposal. . . . If South Africa wants us to join up with her, she must make it a little more attractive for us to do so. It is anything but attractive today. If you are going along a road and come to a house where people are shouting at one another and children are crying, if you are wise you don't think of going inside. But if you come to a house where people are laughing and singing, you feel you want to join in. South Africa should make itself so attractive that we should start saying to the British Government, 'Please release us—please let us join the Union.'" (*South Africa*, April 13, 1957.)

## WEST AFRICA Ghana

### Opposition's Challenge

THE Parliamentary Opposition issued a statement commenting adversely on three actions of the Government. It condemned the Government's decision to use Christiansborg Castle as the Prime Minister's residence and Cabinet secretariat, its plan to abolish regional officers and replace them by political appointments and the Prime Minister's absence from the country for ten days without the appointment of a deputy.

The Government, in reply, called the attack on the Prime Minister for being absent from the country without appointing a deputy a political manoeuvre. Mr. Kofi Baako, Government Chief Whip and Ministerial Secretary to the Prime Minister, said the decision to allow the Prime Minister to occupy Christiansborg Castle had been taken in consonance with Ghana's new political status. The castle had always been known as Government House.

Regarding the abolition of the posts of regional officer, Mr. Baako said it was misleading for the Opposition to describe this as an attempt to subvert the accepted constitution and to subordinate the regions to the dictates of party political control. It was the Government's view that, now the country was independent, it would

be wrong for the Government to be represented in the regions by Civil Servants; it was more in keeping for the Government to be represented in the regions by political appointees. (*The Times*, April 16 and 18, 1957.)

### Foreign Policy

Parliamentary Opposition has called for bipartism action. In a statement the Opposition asked that national delegations going abroad should be representative of both Government and Opposition and that the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament should be established as a forum of discussion and consultation between the Government and the Opposition on matters of foreign policy.

The Opposition also announced in the statement its intention of putting a motion in Parliament on proposals for the Foreign Affairs Committee. The statement added: "It is the view of the Opposition that it would make for greater co-operation."

A Government spokesman is reported to have replied that a Joint Foreign Affairs Committee would not be in accordance with Commonwealth Parliamentary practice and that the "Government of the day must take the responsibility for framing its own foreign policy". The spokesman said that the Prime Minister would always be willing to discuss "important aspects" of foreign policy with Dr. Busia, the Opposition Leader, but not day-to-day affairs. He added that the Government would never agree to the Opposition being represented on delegations abroad, as these delegations represented the Government of the country. Where invitations were extended to a country's Parliament, however, as opposed to the Government, the Opposition would have the right to representation.

### Conference of Independent African States

The Prime Minister has invited the Governments of Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, South Africa, Sudan and Tunisia to a conference in Accra during the second half of October.

Ghana's Ministry of External Affairs stated last week that "the provisional agenda for the conference includes an exchange of views on foreign policy, especially in relation to the African continent; the future of dependent territories in Africa; the racial problem, and steps to safeguard independence and sovereignty of independent African States; ways and means of promoting economic co-operation between African States; the formulation of concrete proposals for exchange of visiting missions between various countries, and consideration of the problem of international peace in conformity with the charter of the United Nations". (*West Africa*, April 27, 1957.)

South Africa has replied that she would prefer a conference of "all Governments with direct responsibilities in Africa", including U.K., rather than a conference of independent States in Africa as suggested by the Ghana Government.

### Ghana Citizenship

The Ghana Citizenship Bill is now before Parliament. It provides that citizenship can be acquired by: Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies and British protected persons born in Ghana at least one of whose parents or grandparents was born in Ghana; citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies and British protected persons born outside Ghana one of whose parents was born in Ghana and is or would have been if still alive a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies or a British protected person; citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies or British protected persons by virtue of marriage whose husbands become, or would if still alive have become, citizens of Ghana.

Persons born in Ghana after the date of commencement of the Act (with a few exceptions) become citizens by birth, and a person born elsewhere whose father is a citizen otherwise than by descent or whose mother is a citizen by birth becomes a citizen of Ghana descent. Commonwealth citizens and British protected persons who have been ordinarily resident in Ghana for four years or who are in the service of the Government can become citizens by registration.

### Regional Constitutional Commission to be Established

The constitutional Order-in-Council provided that the Governor-General should appoint a Regional Constitutional Commission within three months of the birth of Ghana. Letters have gone to all existing Territorial Councils inviting them to make nominations for membership of the Commission.

The proposed Commission is to consist of a Chairman who shall be the Chief Justice or a Judge nominated by him, two commissioners representing each region who shall be persons nominated by the interim Regional Assembly of the region, one commissioner nominated by the Territorial Council of each region, and not more than six commissioners appointed by the Governor-General. The Commission will make recommendations as to the composition of each Regional Assembly, the executive, legislative, financial and advisory powers to be exercised by it, the funds required to meet the capital and recurrent expenditure to be incurred by it, the provision of such funds and the legislation required to give effect to its recommendations.

The Commission is to submit its report to the Governor-General within nine months of its appointment, or as soon thereafter as may be practicable. The report will then be presented to Parliament. (*Ghana Today*, April 17, 1957.)

### Adverse Trade Balance

For the first time in many years Ghana has an adverse balance of trade. A report published in London said that the price of cocoa showed "no tendency to rise" and only the fact that the crop was a very much larger one than was estimated has enabled the budget to be balanced. Farmers have still to be paid the guaranteed price and the export duty met.

The report says that as a result of this situation a halt must be called to development. Only small funds are available to complete schemes already undertaken and to initiate a few further schemes that are self-supporting. "The importance to Ghana of the Volta River project increases against this background, but the future of the project is problematical. The sums required are large and Ghana will need considerable external assistance.

"The effects of this restriction on development can already be seen in the shrinking of the market in some commodities and machinery. As the larger schemes reach their conclusion this aspect of the economy must be intensified but there is little sign of any general trade recession. There are already indications that a liberalization of dollar imports may be on the way. This is only to be expected in view of Ghana's favourable dollar balance.

"Publication of the Second Development Plan is expected in June. No details are yet available, but it seems clear that when existing schemes are completed, further expenditure must be on a modest scale and, above all, on schemes likely to be revenue-earning or at least self-supporting in the shortest possible time." (*Commonwealth News Agency*, May 8, 1957.)

## Technical Training Scheme

Lord Home, Lord President of the Council and Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, speaking in the House of Lords (April 2, 1957), said that a scheme of mutual technical assistance, likely to cost about £200,000 a year, has been agreed in principle between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Ghana.

Under the scheme members of the public service in Ghana would come to Britain, at the expense of the British Government for training in practical and technical subjects. Lord Home continued: "We will also be ready to supply the Government of Ghana, with experts to fill specialist, technical, and professional posts of a temporary or advisory nature, the costs of such experts being shared between our two Governments. In making this offer to the Ghana Government we have sought to give further practical expression to co-operation in the technical assistance field with other Commonwealth countries as we already do elsewhere.

"The Government of Ghana have indicated their readiness to provide reciprocal assistance in fields in which they are able to make a significant contribution, for example, in the study of scientific and technical tropical problems of concern to us and the Colonies. Details will be discussed between the two Governments. We warmly welcome the proposal of the Government of Ghana that this arrangement would be on a basis of mutual co-operation which fully accords with the new status of Ghana." (*Times*, April 3, 1957.)

## C.D.C. Barred from Ghana

Lord Reith has attacked the Government's decision not to allow the Colonial Development Corporation to operate in territories which have emerged into independence. In the Corporation's report for 1956 Lord Reith wrote: "It is surely common sense that the now-established, efficient, and profitable C.D.C. should be permitted to invest in emergent and emerged territories: C.D.C. has been assured on behalf of both the Ghana and Malaya Governments that it would be a great pity if emerging members of the Commonwealth were, at a critical stage, to be deprived of help of the experienced C.D.C. personnel: of course, 'Colonial' would have to come out of C.D.C. title."

# Nigeria

## Independence 1959

THE three Regional Prime Ministers, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, issued a joint statement at the end of a two-day meeting in Lagos on April 16-17 which said: "The three Regional Premiers with their advisers met under the chairmanship of the Sardauna of Sokoto. . . . Matters affecting the constitutional development of the country were discussed and a large measure of agreement was reached. Discussions were full, frank and cordial. The conference unanimously endorsed the attainment of independence by the Federation of Nigeria in 1959."

This followed on a unanimous decision by the House of Representatives to instruct the Federal delegates to the May Constitutional Conference to demand independence for Nigeria in 1959. In an editorial, *West Africa* (April 6, 1957) commented: "Britain must welcome the decision with the spirit shown in the debate which produced it. The debate was marked by three things: universal goodwill and gratitude to Britain; absence of recrimination among the parties; and realization of the practical problems in the way of independence. Chief Solaru went so far as to suggest that one good reason for

demanding Nigeria's independence was that it would 'liberate' their British friends, who at present were obliged to play in Nigeria the role of a ruling race, instead of showing to strangers the natural generosity which they showed at home."

Chief Akintola, Leader of the Opposition, had tabled a motion naming 1957 as the date for independence, but he accepted the amendment proposing 1959 because he thought the best way to give the subject the importance it deserved was to face it "with the utmost spirit of unanimity".

The Constitutional Conference in London commenced on May 23. On his departure for London Dr. Azikiwe said: "The people of Nigeria would resort to any means at their disposal to achieve independence in 1959 if Britain failed them."

The parliamentary group of the Northern People's Congress has instructed its delegates to the Conference in London to seek adequate safeguards for the North when Nigeria becomes independent.

In a statement on behalf of the Action Group, Chief Awolowo said: "The Action Group believes in the unity of Nigeria through federation and will therefore press at the forthcoming London Constitutional Conference for the present federal arrangements to remain with such modifications—such as the creation of new States, etc.—as may be necessary to ensure the continued smooth working of the Constitution. My party will also press unyieldingly for the fixing by Her Majesty's Government of a date not later than nine months after the dissolution of the present House of Representatives, for the attainment of independence by Nigeria within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

"In this connexion, I would like to reiterate most emphatically that the attainment of self-government by a region is not regarded by the Action Group as an end in itself; nor is it in any way in conflict with the supreme objective of self-government for Nigeria as a whole. It is our considered view that in our onward march to the goal of Nigerian freedom, every ground won from British Rule no matter in what sector is an accretion to our strength to carry on the struggle, so long as any circumscribed gain or victory is not allowed to blur our vision of or distract and weaken our strivings for the supreme objective."

The United Middle Belt Congress, in a memorandum embodying the party's proposals for the Constitutional Conference to be sent to the Colonial Secretary, calls for the splitting up of the country into nine States and for the creation of an Upper House, to be known as the Senate, in the Federal Legislature. It also wants a House of Chiefs at Federal level. It proposes that the North should be split into three and the West and the East into two States each and that there should continue to be the Federal Territory of Lagos and the quasi-Federal Territory of the Southern Cameroons. It expresses the view that the creation of more States would preserve the principles of federation, and asks that before the creation of new States, a boundary commission should be appointed to determine State boundaries. The party threatens to oppose the grant of self-government for the Federation unless a Central or Middle Belt State is created. (*News From Nigeria*, April 10, 1957.)

## Eastern Region Election Results

The N.C.N.C. won 64 of the 84 seats in Eastern Nigeria's House of Assembly. In the old House the N.C.N.C. had 72 seats. The Action Group, which had only one seat in the former House, now has 13, and the United National Independence Party, which formerly had 10 seats, now has 5. Only two Independents have been elected and both are members of the N.C.N.C. standing unofficially. (*West Africa*, March 23, 1957.)

## Party Grouping in the North

The Sardauna of Sokoto, speaking in the adjournment debate in the Northern House of Assembly, said that members of the Northern Elements Progressive Union, Ilorin Talika Parapo and the Bornu Youth Movement had agreed to constitute the Opposition in the House, and had appointed M. Ibrahim Imam as their leader. The United Middle Belt Congress would remain neutral but would support the Opposition if the need arose. The Premier said the Northern People's Congress was not anti-Opposition and felt it was his duty and that of his party to recognize M. Ibrahim Imam as the Opposition Leader and recommend an allowance for him comparable with that enjoyed by the Opposition Leader in the Federal House and that of the Chief Whip in the Northern House of Assembly. (*News from Northern Nigeria*, March 16, 1957.)

## Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation Established

The Governor-General and the three Regional Prime Ministers have sent messages of congratulation to the staff of the newly-formed N.B.C. Sir James Robertson said he hoped the Corporation would foster unity in Nigeria. Dr. Azikiwe spoke of the importance of external services which would present Nigeria to the World. (*News from Nigeria*, April 2, 1957.)

# The British Cameroons

## Election Results

ELECTIONS were held in the Southern Cameroons on March 15, 1957. The final state of parties was: Kamerun National Congress 10 (Government Party); Kamerun National Democratic Party 4; Kamerun People's Party 2; Independents 3.

## New House of Assembly Meets

At the first session of the new House of Assembly, the President outlined the proposed legislative programme of the House of Assembly which includes efforts to attract overseas investments and encouraging indigenous agricultural enterprise; establishment of development agency; and legislation to regularize land holdings.

In the Budget Speech which followed, the Financial and Development Secretary, Mr. J. Murray, told the House that education was absorbing a substantial part of the Government's resources. In this budget, education expenditure is some 30 per cent of total recurrent expenditure and one of the Territory's biggest financial problems is how to carry this ever-increasing burden. The Health and Public Works Department were two other "expensive" items. He added: "Until the financial climate brightens and there is an assured prospect of increasing revenues, it will be necessary for all departments of Government to practise the most rigorous economy."

On production trends, Mr. Murray said that last year's banana crop was a considerable improvement upon 1955. This, he said, was due almost entirely to the remarkable expansion in smallholder production under the aegis of the Bakweri Co-operative Union of Farmers whose growing production is proving of vital importance in maintaining the Territory's banana shipments at reasonable levels. Cocoa production, he said, has been stimulated by the black-pod spraying campaign. Exports of rubber and palm products have been maintained at a satisfactory level.

In conclusion Mr. Murray said: "No one can deny that the immediate financial future is bleak. But if we achieve a satisfactory formula for the allocation of revenue and if we build wisely on the

foundation of the diversity of agricultural resources with which the Southern Cameroons is endowed, there is no reason why it should not become one of the most prosperous regions of West Africa." (*News from Nigeria*, April 27, 1957.)

## Discussion on Future Status

A conference of all the political parties in the Southern Cameroons, called by Dr. E. M. L. Endeley, Leader of Government Business, broke up after it had failed to reach agreement on whether or not the Territory should remain with or break from Nigeria.

K.N.D.P. members suggested that the Territory should secede from Nigeria and stand alone as an "independent little State". K.N.C. and K.P.P. members are reported to have opposed the suggestion because the Territory was not finding it easy to pay its way as a quasi-Federal Territory; it would be dangerous to go the way suggested by the K.N.D.P.

It was finally decided to leave the matter to the Colonial Secretary, who would be in a position to say whether or not the Colonial Office or the United Nations would be prepared to provide the necessary funds for administering the Cameroons as a separate entity. (*News from Nigeria*, May 8, 1957.)

## Praise for Administration

Congratulatory statements on the United Kingdom's administration of the British Cameroons in the year 1955 were made by most of the speakers who took part in the opening session of the Trusteeship Council's general debate on the Territory.

Mr. Claeys-Bouuaert (Belgium) declared that the Territory's association with the Federation had proved a benefit and was in accord with the wishes of the population. Mr. Rikhi Jaipal (India), said its political advancement had been marked by three factors: first, it had been both continuous and smooth, with no violence or disorder; second, it had been free, and in accordance with the aspirations of the inhabitants, and third, the orientation of the local political parties was in the direction of Nigeria, indicating a clear desire to share the destiny of the Federation.

Mr. Dorsinville (Haiti), said that the indigenous authorities in the north were apparently in favour of integration with Nigeria, while those in the south insisted on a separate Government. . . . He stressed the need for continued education of the population so that when the time came for them to decide upon their future they would be able to do so in full awareness of the facts.

Mr. McGregor (United States) congratulated the Cameroonian people on "the progress they have made towards self-government. . . ."

Mr. V. N. Bendryshev (Russia) said that the Council should call on the United Kingdom to take the necessary steps to ensure that the entire Territory attained independence or self-government within a maximum limit of three years. The Soviet representative made a similar proposal regarding the French Cameroons when the Council was considering conditions in that territory.

# Sierra Leone

## Election Results

POLLING took place on May 3, 1957, for seats in the new House of Representatives. The Sierra Leone People's Party won a decisive victory. Under the leadership of Dr. M. A. S. Margai the party won 21 out of the 30 seats so far decided. The only other party to win any

seats is the United Progressive Party, with 5 seats. Four Independents have been elected.

In the colony, where the U.P.P. expected to do well, the S.L.P.P. has done better by winning 10 of the colony's 14 seats. By this achievement they have established their claim to be a national party as opposed to a protectorate party. Two parties—the National Council for Sierra Leone and the Labour Party—have been entirely eclipsed at the polls. Though the size of the S.L.P.P. majority in the new House of Representatives is still not decided, the Party will certainly form a strong Government and will seek to extend the power they had in the outgoing Government.

Among their ambitious proposals will be the appointment of an all-African Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister, the abolition of the posts of Colonial Secretary and Chief Commissioner of the Protectorate, and the appointment of a Deputy Governor responsible for External Affairs and Defence. The manifesto states: "The Sierra Leone People's Party will work for the achievement of independence within the lifetime of the new legislature." Nevertheless there are few persons, either African or European, who seriously believe that Sierra Leone is capable of achieving complete independence within so short a period as five years. . . . A feature of the election has been the number of women voters. Two women candidates, both S.L.P.P. have so far been elected, one Minister in the outgoing Government was defeated. Mr. C. B. Rogers Wright, leader of U.P.P., was also defeated. (*The Times*, May 6, 1956.)

It has been announced that Government representatives will shortly have talks with the Colonial Secretary on Sierra Leone's future form of Executive. The Sierra Leone People's Party has called for 'an all-African Cabinet. The old Government had four African Ministers.

increased: the total of 474 territorial councillors elected in eight territories this year was ninety more than the total elected in 1952.

Perhaps the most important difference between the old and the new Assemblies is in their powers. These powers are enumerated in the decrees implementing the *loi cadre* of June 23, 1956.<sup>1</sup> The new Assemblies will for the first time exercise direct control over the territorial executive. Each Assembly will elect between six and twelve members of a Council of Ministers. These will be entitled (but not obliged) to resign when they believe they no longer have the confidence of the Territorial Assembly. The Governor will preside over the Council of Ministers, but a vice-president will be elected from among the elected ministers. Henceforth the French Overseas Minister must consult the new Assemblies on certain overseas laws and decrees enacted in Paris. The Assemblies may make decisions on specified matters; these include primary education, agriculture, co-operatives, public health, communication, land, urbanization, soil conservation, etc. The Assemblies will also vote the territorial budgets.

The following chart gives the results of the March 31 elections for each territory. The figures in parentheses refer to seats in the 1952 elections.

Parties	Senegal	Mauritania	Soudan	Upper Volta	Dahomey	Niger	Ivory Coast	Guinea	Total
R.D.A.			64(13)	37(0)	7(0)	19(0)	60(28)	56(1)	243
M.S.A.	12(9)		6(27)			41		3(15)	62
CAF	47(41)			7(34)					54
P.R.D.					35(19)				35
M.D.V.				26(6)					26
U.P.M.		33(19)							33
Others	1	1			18			1	21
Total	60(50)	34(24)	70(60)	70(50)	60(50)	60(50)	60(50)	60(50)	474 (384)

## OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES

### French Africa

#### Territorial Assembly Elections in French West Africa

(A Survey by Ruth Schachter)

ON March 31, elections took place in the eight French West African territories for new members of eight Territorial Assemblies. Similar elections were held in 1946 and 1952. But the March 1957 vote differed from previous elections in several important respects.

These elections were the first held under universal suffrage and a common roll. In previous elections, suffrage was restricted to certain categories of voters; in 1952, 3.1 million were registered voters, and 1.3 voted. This year, with universal suffrage, out of a population of 19 million, 10 million were registered voters and some 5 million voted.

Territorial Assembly elections in 1946 and 1952 were held in two electoral colleges:<sup>1</sup> the first college, formed from among the 80,000 French citizens *de statut civil* (largely Frenchmen), had elected about one-third of the territorial councillors; the second college, formed by French citizens *de statut local* (Africans), elected the balance. This double college system came to an end on March 31, with the use of a common roll. Furthermore, the number of territorial councillors

<sup>1</sup>Except Senegal, which always had a single electoral college.

The results show that the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (R.D.A.), led by Deputies Houphouët-Boigny and Ouezzin Coulibaly of Ivory Coast, Sékou Touré of Guinea and Modibo Keita of the Soudan, consolidated gains made in the last two years. The R.D.A. previously had a majority only in the Territorial Assembly of Ivory Coast, but now it will have majorities in the Assemblies of Ivory Coast, Guinea, Soudan and Upper Volta, and minority strength in Niger and Dahomey. The R.D.A. has 243 out of the 474 seats in the eight territories, which will probably give them a majority in the future elections (indirect in the Territorial Assemblies) for forty members of the federal Grand Council of French West Africa.

In Senegal, Deputy Léopold Senghor's *Bloc Populaire Sénégalais* won a clear majority; but his attempt to lead an interterritorial movement, *Convention Africaine* (CAF), previously called *Indépendants d'Outre-mer*, did not succeed.

The reorganized African interterritorial Socialist movement, *Mouvement Socialiste Africain* (M.S.A.), maintained a minority position in Senegal under the leadership of Lamine Guèye, Mayor of Dakar. The M.S.A. success in Niger was spearheaded by the former militant C.G.T. trade union leader, Bakary Djibo, Mayor of Niamey. Neither the CAF nor the M.S.A. have majorities in more than one territory of French West Africa.

In the other two territories of Dahomey and Mauritania, purely local parties secured majorities: in Dahomey, the Conservative Deputy Apithy, leader of the *Parti Republicain du Dahomey*, maintained his influence over the rural voters; Sidi el Mokhtar, Deputy and leader of the *Union Progressiste Mauritanienne*, supported by the chiefs and the administration, has a clear majority in Mauritania. Furthermore, in Upper Volta, Deputy Kango Ouedraogo obtained

<sup>1</sup>See *Africa Digest*, Vol. IV, Nos. 2 and 5.

a strong minority vote, largely from among the Mossie of the Ouahigouya region, for his *Mouvement Démocratique Voltaïque*.

Similar elections, under similar conditions, were held in the four Equatorial African territories. In Ubangi Shari, Deputy Boganda's *Mouvement pour l'Evolution Sociale de l'Afrique Noire* won all 50 seats. The R.D.A. won 46 out of 65 seats in Chad, and a plurality of 16 out of 40 seats in Gabon. In Middle Congo, the R.D.A., led by Deputy Tchicaya, lost some seats to the Abbé Fulbert's *Union de Défense des Interêts Africains*, which won a plurality of 21 out of 45 seats.

### Comment

Colin Legum, writing for SERVOB, commented: "For the time being, at least, France has succeeded in winning the active co-operation of the most militant of the African nationalist movement, except in Madagascar, behind a policy that rejects the concept of independence for the African States in favour of 'interdependence' with France, but allowing for local autonomy."

"One other remarkable feature that emerges from the election results holds an important lesson for White settlers in the British multi-racial colonies. Under the *loi cadre*<sup>1</sup> all the special voting privileges attaching to a white skin were abolished. This gave to the Africans a complete majority in all the constituencies."

"The African voters, however, made a special point of securing the election of French settlers and businessmen in all the Territorial Assemblies. Even in Madagascar, where the militant nationalists emerged in great strength, more than one-eighth of the elected councillors are Frenchmen."

"A great deal of the credit for the success of this policy is due to M. Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the leader of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (R.D.A.) and a member of the Government of M. Guy Mollet. As the leader of the triumphant R.D.A., M. Houphouët-Boigny, who is a friend of long standing of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Premier of Ghana, has emerged as one of the most significant African leaders. He is a wealthy cocoa farmer from the Ivory Coast and led the successful revolt in 1946 that secured the divorce of the R.D.A. from the French Communist Party. From that time he has concentrated on developing an African nationalist movement. While insisting on the separate identity of Africans from Frenchmen, he strongly supports the maintenance of links between the French territories and Metropolitan France so long as local autonomy is left in the hands of Africans."

"Speaking of his electoral triumph, the R.D.A. leader said in Abidjan that the elections will for the first time allow Africans to assume the autonomous conduct of their own affairs. 'The R.D.A. supported a difficult thesis—that of brotherly co-operation with France,' he said. 'It would have been much easier for us to mislead the masses and to promise them absolute independence. It is fortunate, however, that the masses have chosen to follow those who advocate co-operation, taking into account the indispensable factor in the modern world—the importance of the interdependence of all peoples.'"

"M. Houphouët-Boigny is now in a strong position to exercise pressure on the French Parliament for further concessions under the *loi cadre*. He is by no means satisfied with the powers of the Territorial Assemblies. Since the French Government will be compelled to rely heavily on the R.D.A.'s alliance for the continued success of its new French policy, it is bound to pay special attention to its leader's wishes."

"The election results show, however, that France may be heading

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 2 and 5.

for trouble in Madagascar unless it drastically revises its policies in respect of this important island.

"Although the party of moderates won the elections, the left-wing militant nationalists who favour complete independence for Madagascar comprise a formidable opposition. The balance of power is held by a small group of moderate nationalists under Catholic leadership. But this balance is so finely held that France will ignore the true results of the Madagascar elections at the considerable peril of inviting another Algeria in this island that has already produced one violent upheaval since the end of the last war. This point is being strongly pressed by leading French colonial commentators."

## The French Cameroons

### Prime Minister Appointed<sup>1</sup>

M. ANDRE-MARIE MBIDA, President of the Cameroons Democrats, has become the first Prime Minister of the French Cameroons. The Legislative Assembly approved his appointment by 56 votes to 10. He will have the task of governing the Trust Territory under the new political statute by which France granted a large measure of internal autonomy. (*The Times*, May 8, 1957.)

## Ruanda-Urundi

### Evolution Towards Democracy

MR. PIERRE RYCKMANS, Belgium's Permanent Delegate to the U.N. Trusteeship Council, said: "Ruanda-Urundi's evolution under Belgian guidance will seem revolutionary in a few years. The purpose of our policy is to create as fast as we can conditions under which the people of Ruanda-Urundi will be able to govern themselves in accordance with the spirit of a civilized democracy. But we do not believe that this aim would be achieved any more quickly by introducing universal suffrage today."

The elections which have taken place in November 1956 'through-out Ruanda-Urundi must be seen in the light of statements as these. The Belgians want to teach the people of Ruanda-Urundi democracy from the bottom. They believe the natives must show themselves capable of practising it successfully on the municipal, tribal and regional plane first, before extending it to the higher legislative councils of the country."

The object of the October-November elections was to elect the members of *sous-chefverie* councils. A *sous-chefverie* (sub-chieftainship) is an indigenous administrative unit. In the old days chiefs and chieftains ruled as small despots. Since 1953 all native authorities are assisted by advisory councils. At the lowest level, the council of a sub-chiefs has a minimum of five and a maximum of nine members."

The Belgian Administration spared no effort to give these elections a true, democratic character. The main difficulty consisted in devising a simple, but effective electoral procedure which the majority of the voters could understand. It was necessary to give confidence and also a feeling of personal security to natives, many of them illiterate, who went to the polls for the first time."

For months before election day meetings were held all over the country to explain to the people what this popular consultation was all about. Though voting was not made compulsory, 60 to 94 per cent of the voters in some places went to the polls."

On election day the inhabitants of the *sous-chefveries* were given voting slips on which they had to write down the names of their

<sup>1</sup>DIGEST IV, 5.

candidates. Schoolboys had been mobilized to give the illiterate a hand. To ensure impartiality schoolboys were sent to neighbouring villages of other tribes. The voters obviously liked this and many old men were observed asking boys they had never seen before to help them fill in their forms.

Monsieur Harroy, Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, in an interview with a Belgian News Agency correspondent, said that these elections were a great step towards the democratization of Ruanda-Urundi's institutions.

It was the first time that the entire adult male population of Ruanda-Urundi was called on to vote. Nine hundred thousand men were registered on the voters lists. The election yielded interesting data on the present state of mind of the various social and racial groups that compose the population. Valuable lessons can also be drawn from it in view of future similar popular consultations.

It was the first time in Ruanda-Urundi history that tribal councillors were elected by popular suffrage. The operations took place in a calm and orderly atmosphere, contrasting favourably in this respect with some elections in other parts of Africa.

Governor Harroy said that it would be in line with Belgian policy in Africa for Belgians living in the territory to take part in the future elections. The election of representatives to the country's two highest councils, including that of the Governor, would be introduced at a later state on the basis of terms, which it was as yet impossible to foretell. He said that there had been some criticism of the conditions which candidates had to fulfil to be eligible. They had to be monogamous and to have resided in the voting area for at least three years. Obviously, some rules had to be imposed in order to obtain a certain stability. The Government never missed the opportunity to hand over responsibility to native leaders, who thus became acquainted with the burden as well as with the advantages of authority. (*Belgian Congo To-day*, January 1957.)

## Spanish Africa

### Rio de Oro

STEPHEN HUGHES, writing for the *Observer Foreign News Service*, said:

Spain has announced that there is no question of giving Rio de Oro her largest colony, back to the Moroccans, nor has she any intention of evacuating other parts of Morocco, such as the *praesidios* of Ceuta and Melilla. The remarkable thing is that these announcements have not raised any anti-colonialist outcry nor even a mild murmur from the hypersensitive Arab nationalists.

How can Spain get away with this in a world bedevilled by anti-colonialism, independence movements and high-pitched nationalism? France, for one, cannot understand why presumably liberty-loving nationalists are so agreeable to General Franco when he refuses to yield an inch of ground in Africa, whereas France has granted full independence to Tunisia and Morocco yet continues to bear the brunt of abuse as an "imperialist". In West Africa, they propose to give Mauritania gradual autonomy, but the very idea brings hoots of protest from Moroccan nationalists who claim the territory as an integral part of Morocco.

Meanwhile, Rio de Oro, which actually lies between Morocco and Mauritania, is peaceful and calm behind the "Cactus Curtain" maintained by the Spanish authorities. Journalists are not allowed in, and this secrecy has given rise to rumours that the Spaniards are concealing large oil resources.

However, it seems fairly certain that Spain has literally nothing to

hide. Despite its golden name, Rio de Oro is a poverty-stricken place—110,000 square miles of sand and sun-split rocks, with no roads or towns worthy of the name, while public services are non-existent or very primitive. Spain can only hide the fact that she has done little or nothing to develop the area. The administration is military and the few modern buildings are practically all army quarters or outposts. There are an estimated 45,000 inhabitants, either nomads or fishermen, and a somewhat larger number of Spanish troops.

The authorities in Villa Cisneros, the capital, also administer "South Spanish Morocco" (10,000 square miles) and the enclave of Ifni (675 square miles) which is isolated in independent Morocco. These areas were occupied by Spain in 1916 and 1936 respectively on the strength of a treaty with Morocco conferring fishing rights only on Spain. The terms of the treaty were purposely vague and it is not clear where exactly fishermen were allowed to settle except somewhere "opposite the Canary Islands".

The five Spanish *praesidios* along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco are Melilla (occupied since 1497), Ceuta (1581), Penon de Alhucemas (1673) and the Zaffarine Islands (1847), which have a total population of about 150,000, mostly Spanish. Spain makes no bones about the *praesidios*—they are "sovereign and inalienable Spanish territory" and treated just like Spanish towns.

Nevertheless, Spain sails serenely on without a colonial care in the world. She regards herself as the Arab World's best friend in Europe, and indeed she is considered as such by many leading nationalists in the Middle East and North Africa. Spain's policy in Morocco has embarrassed France more than it has helped the Moroccans. By supporting the Sultan during his exile in a French colony, and by allowing rebels to attack the French in 1955 from the Moroccan territory she controlled, Spain has contributed to France's undoing.

Although the French withdrew fourteen months ago, and agitation is strong for the departure of the 80,000-man French army, the Spaniards are still here with an army almost as big but which nobody has asked them to evacuate (except the Communist Party).

## GENERAL

### Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference

THE Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers commences on June 26, in London. The Prime Minister of Ghana will be present for the first time. South Africa will not be represented by its Prime Minister, Mr. Strijdom, who said his decision not to come to London for the Conference was "based on personal reasons". He has nominated a deputy. In reply to questions in the South African Parliament he said that in his view conferences should be convened from time to time for discussion of specific points. Thus the Minister of Defence would obviously be the person to attend a conference on defence matters. Referring to the possible inclusion in the Commonwealth of countries such as Malaya, Nigeria, and the West Indies and Uganda, Mr. Strijdom said: "Some of these countries may . . . gain admission to the Commonwealth when they are not sufficiently developed or experienced in democratic processes. Whatever Britain's policy may be, I think she should take account of these things when granting independence." (*Manchester Guardian*, May 3, 1957.)

### Vice-President Nixon's Tour

Vice-President Nixon, who attended the Ghana independence ceremonies as representative of the United States, made a 20,000-

mile tour covering other countries in Africa, namely Liberia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco.

In a report on his visit to President Eisenhower he said that Africa is emerging as one of the great forces in the world today and that "the course of its development, as its people continue to emerge from a colonial status and assume the responsibilities of independence and self-government, could well prove to be the decisive factor in the conflict between the forces of freedom and international Communism".

The possibility of Africa falling a victim to Communism is very present in Mr. Nixon's mind. Africa, he thinks, is a priority target for the Communist movement and the "Communist leaders consider Africa today to be as important in their designs for world conquest as they considered China to be twenty-five years ago. Consequently they are mounting a diplomatic propaganda and economic offensive in all parts of the continent" and "are putting their top men in the fields of diplomacy, intrigue and subversion . . . to probe for openings which they can exploit for their own selfish and disruptive ends".

But Mr. Nixon, while holding out a warning against complacency, concludes that, so far, Communist domination has not been a pressing danger—the more so as all African leaders with whom he talked said that they were determined to maintain their independence against Communism or any other form of foreign domination.

Exchanges of views between leaders in Africa and the United States should, he considers, be reinforced by propaganda at a lower level. "The most worthwhile projects", he finds, "are the libraries and reading-rooms which we have established in a number of centres overseas. . . . The funds for these programmes . . . should be substantially increased." Again, he believes that a knowledge of American culture, technology, history and aspirations can be well spread by means of books and periodicals, through student exchanges, and by bringing outstanding Africans to the United States for study and travel. American assistance might also be given to the development of indigenous educational facilities in Africa. "In this way" he concluded, "we can get to know them and they to know us. . . .

"All the African states which I visited," said Mr. Nixon, "are underdeveloped. Most of them have great economic potential. Their leaders are anxious to strengthen the economies of their countries and to assure for their peoples a larger share of the advantages of our modern civilization. They seek economic as well as political independence in so far as this is possible in the world of today."

Their needs, some of which are listed in Mr. Nixon's report, are great and in most cases beyond the capacity of Africa to finance. Mr. Nixon then goes on to make this statement:

"All the leaders with whom I talked expressed preference for developing their economies through encouraging the investment of private capital and through loans from international agencies such as the World Bank where feasible rather than through government-to-government grants. It can truly be said that the welcome sign is out for investment of foreign private capital in Africa. African leaders are aware of the great role that such private capital can play in the development of their countries and many of them have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, special legislation designed to create an atmosphere conducive to expanded foreign investment."

The significance of this passage is not that Mr. Nixon regards private enterprise as a very right and proper agency of development but that every African leader comes down on the side of private capital and loans from international agencies as opposed to State financing of development.

If Mr. Nixon's proposals are followed, the United States will draw the attention of private American capital to opportunities for investment in Africa where conditions are propitious. To this end, it seems to Mr. Nixon that the strengthening of the economic and technical assistance shall be extended.

Nevertheless he realizes that the task of providing the economic assistance which Africa wants cannot be done by the United States alone. "We make it clear that we desire no exclusive position in any country in that area and that we want to work with other free world nations in providing assistance which will build strong, free and independent nations in this area of the world." (*Conservative Party Research Department Survey*, April 1957.)

## BOOK LIST

### (Recent Acquisitions in the Africa Bureau Library)

DUMPLETON, C. W. *Colonial Development Corporation*. Fabian Colonial Bureau. (Price 1s. 6d.) A pamphlet describing the origin, aims and activities of the Corporation by a member of its staff. Preface by Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones, M.P.

HODGKIN, R. A. *Education and Change*. Oxford University Press. (Price 1s. 6d.) A preliminary survey on the question of education in relation to rapidly changing social conditions.

HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY. *Discours et Allocutions prononcées par Monsieur Le Ministre Houphouët-Boigny lors de son voyage en Côte-D'Ivoire*. Draeger Imp. A booklet giving an account of the Minister's visit to the Ivory Coast. Text in French.

HUDDLESTON, SCOTT, RAYNES, COLLINS. *Four Words on South Africa*. Christian Action. (Price 1s.) A booklet comprising sermons by Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R., the Rev. Michael Scott, Father R. Raynes, C.R., and Canon L. J. Collins.

KIMBLE, DAVID and HELEN. *Adult Education in a Changing Africa*. The International Federation of Workers' Education Associations.—A report on an Inter-African Seminar held in the Gold Coast from December 10–23, 1954. (Price 1s.)

SACHS, SOLLY. *Rebels Daughters*. MacGibbon & Kee, 1957. (Price 21s.) The story of the fight of the Garment Workers in South Africa towards the improvement of their conditions and racial equality. Foreword by Father Trevor Huddleston, C.R.

SEGAL, RONALD M. (Editor). *Africa South*. Vol. 1, No. 3. April–June 1957. Published quarterly by Africa South Publications (Pty) Ltd. (Price 4s. in Great Britain and Africa), to provide an international forum for study and discussion of the problems of Africa, in particular south of the Sahara.

SMITH, EDWIN W. *Great Lion of Bechuanaland*. Published for the London Missionary Society by Independent Press Ltd., 1957. (Price 32s. 6d.) An account of the life of the great missionary Roger Price, a contemporary of Livingstone and Moffat. Contains also an important study of the MaKololo tribe. A book both for the student and the general reader.

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS. *The Native Laws Amendment Bill of 1957*. An examination of this Bill by, among others, the Rt. Rev. H. Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg.

TAYLOR, J. V. *Christianity and Politics in Africa*. Penguin African Series, 1957. (Price 2s.) This book asks important questions for those who want to examine the Christian approach to politics and suggests ways in which the Church could speak out more clearly against intolerance and other evils.

*The Editor of the DIGEST does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

#### ERRATUM

- p. 177 last two lines of section headed PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO LONDON to read: "constitutional guarantees for minorities and to carry out a vigorous economic and social programme capable of receiving the enthusiastic co-operation of the African population."

# AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

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A CONFERENCE of the Africa Bureau and its associated Councils was held in Birmingham on April 6-7 under the chairmanship of Mr. Eric Knight of the Birmingham Africa Council. The Conference was addressed by Mr. A. Sillery, one-time Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland, and Mr. David Williams, Editor of West African Newspapers Limited. Lord Hemingford and the Rev. Michael Scott reported on their visit to Ghana and discussions also covered East Africa, where the recent African elections in Kenya had brought about a new situation; Central Africa, where constitutional reforms in the Northern Protectorates are under consideration; and South Africa on which the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting being deeply concerned by the grievous acceleration of measures of segregation in South Africa invites all those thinking of offering their services, professional or otherwise, to that country *either* to insist that their services are available equally to all the communities there *or* to inquire in advance into the exact restrictions in regard to their work."

Thirty-five people attended the Conference representing the Bureau and thirteen other societies.

During his visit to Ghana the Rev. Michael Scott presented a memorandum to the Prime Minister on the subject of South Africa's continued defiance of the United Nations. Dr. Nkrumah said that the memorandum would be studied.

A declaration published in our recent pamphlet *Sport, the Arts and the Colour Bar in South Africa* which was signed by twenty-six artists has now been circulated to artists and sportsmen throughout Britain asking them to join in signing it. The declaration deplores the theory and practice of *apartheid*, particularly in so far as it restricts the enjoyment and use of human talent.

The campaign to ensure that all those attending the International Health Conference in Rome have information about the effects of the South African Nursing Amendment Bill has been continued. Miss

Richmond, a member of the Bureau staff, met delegates from the various Nursing Associations to be represented at the Conference while they were visiting London and contact has been made with nursing organizations in Belgium, France, Switzerland, New Zealand, the United States, and Britain.

The Bureau has continued to ask its members and others to support the funds which exist to help those involved in the treason trials in South Africa. We are closely in touch with the Defence Fund established in Johannesburg.

A Press statement on the future of the Central African Federation was issued by the Executive Committee after Sir Roy Welensky's visit to London (see page 177). Correspondents and members in Northern Rhodesia are being asked for their views on constitutional reform in the territory.

The Africa Bureau Executive has invited representatives of the Regional Governments of Nigeria to have talks while they are in London for the Conference on the Nigerian Constitution. The Director paid a short visit to Nigeria after the Ghana independence celebrations.

The Director spoke on "South Africa and the Future" at a Schools Conference in Shropshire. He addressed a Conference at Dollarbeg under the auspices of the Scottish Council for African Questions and spoke at public meetings in Glasgow and Edinburgh. He has also addressed a number of meetings in and around London. The Acting Secretary visited Swansea for the inauguration of the Africa Society at Swansea University College which will work closely with the Swansea Africa Council.

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